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VI. C. 22.

TRAVELS IN CIRCASSIA.

On Stone by L. Haghe.

Day & Haghe, Lith.rs to the King.

CIRCASSIANS.

A Circassian House & Granary in the background.

THREE VOYAGES

IN THE

BLACK SEA

TO THE

COAST OF CIRCASSIA:

INCLUDING

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PORTS, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THEIR TRADE:

WITH

SKETCHES OF THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS, RELIGION, &c. &c., OF THE CIRCASSIANS.

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BY THE

CHEV. TAITBOUT DE MARIGNY,

CONSUL OF HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE NETHERLANDS AT ODESSA.

Circassian War-Boat.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

MCCCDXXXVII.

83476

ref 914.79

LONDON:
Printed by W. Clowes and Sons,
Stamford Street.

INTRODUCTION.

A PORTION of the following publication originally appeared in the work of Count Potocki, "Voyage dans les Steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase," Paris, 1829: but the increasing interest taken by the Russian empire in the theatre of a war, which with various vicissitudes has raged for more than a century, between the inhabitants of the Caucasus and their Muscovite invaders, lately gave rise to the necessity, on the part of the Russian Government, of appearing to gratify the desire of the public for information about Circassia.

During the absence, therefore, of M. de Marigny, the author of these Travels, from his post of Consul for the King of the Netherlands at Odessa, there issued last year from the Russian press a work, under the following title—"Voyages en Circassie, par le Chevalier Taitbout de Marigny, présentement Consul de S. M. le Roi des Pays Bas à Odessa, avec vues, costumes, &c. Librairies de D. Mieville, Editeur à Odessa et à Siméphropol," 1836; and on the title-page the following note was appended in French:—

"These Travels having been printed at a distance

from the author, the edition contains faults of every kind: the principal errors only have been noticed in the errata, which the reader is requested to correct before commencing the perusal of the work."

Beneath the shelter of this equivocal apology, the Russian editor, acting under the censorship of the government, without which no work can appear in Russia, published the original notes of the author, but omitted several important passages, and interpolated others dictated by the Russian authorities.

The omissions have been forwarded to England, together with a copy of the Russian edition, in which the interpolations of the Russian authorities are marked. The English editor is now enabled to present them in a collective form to the reader, whose judgment and sagacity will be exercised in tracing the art with which the Russian Cabinet has endeavoured to misrepresent the character, the customs, the strength, and the resources of the inhabitants of the Caucasus, who, being at this moment indissolubly united under a national standard, designated by the title of what has been for twelve centuries the centre of union of the whole Mussulman world,—the "*Sandjak Sheriff*," present along the Russian frontiers one hundred thousand men in arms.

The outrage lately committed on the commercial flag of England by a Russian man-of-war in a Circassian port, and the important question involved in the issue of the negotiations respecting that transaction, lend an additional interest, at the present

moment, to any detailed and impartial account of the eastern shores of the Euxine.

Independently, however, of the political interest which is excited by the name of Circassia, the following pages contain abundant matter to attract the attention of the commercial and manufacturing classes; whilst they are calculated to stimulate to further researches amongst the people of the Caucasus the politician, the geographer, the geologist, the antiquary, and the lover of Nature.

Without pretending to fathom the mystery attached to the declaration of Circassian independence, which appeared fifteen months ago in the "*Portfolio*," the original of which was stated, in a late debate in the House of Commons, to exist in England, and the authenticity of which was not denied by his Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, we can hardly imagine, on perusing the letter extracted from the "Times," under the signature of "*Daoud*," and appended after the act of independence, that the chieftains of Circassia are not aided in their glorious struggle by a sympathy in this country, which is no less powerful than intelligent and effective.

We are indebted to the Editors of the "*Portfolio*" for the chart of the bearings of the Circassian coast, as copied from the Admiralty charts of St. Petersburgh.

London, May 10, 1837.

CONTENTS.

VOYAGE TO CIRCASSIA IN 1818.

GENERAL SKETCH OF THE COUNTRY AT THAT PERIOD.

Page

Boundaries of the Caucasian country—Different Etymologies of the name Caucasus—Height of the Elbrouz and the Mkinvari—Soil, climate, ancient and modern names of the several tribes and towns—Population—Present state of these tribes, their relations with the Russians, civil and military attempts of the latter 5

JOURNAL OF MY VOYAGE.

Departure from Kertche in the "Circassian"—Error with respect to the situation of Ghélendjik, and entrance into that Port—Konak—Reminiscences of the Genoese preserved in Circassia—Anecdote—Boats and Pirates—Greek established at Ghélendjik—Walk, house—Plague—Dread with which it inspires the Circassians—Prohibition of the Pacha to the Turks to trade, excepting in his fortress—Alarm—Jackals—Kaspolete—Costume of the Circassians—Their food, repasts—Funeral ceremonies—Prayers of the Greek on board—Price of cattle—Carrying off a Circas-

Page

sian girl by M. Moudrov—Marriage—An express sent to Russia—M. Tausch—Description of Ghélendjik—Unfavourable dispositions of the Circassians—Dinner—Princes, equerries, vassals, slaves—Legislation—Russian dragoon—Foster-father's education—Cemetery—Funerals—Indar Kou—Coat of arms—Departure from Ghélendjik—Coast between that port and Pchiate — Tempest — Arrival at Pchiate—Hostile dispositions — Assemblies—Market of exchange at Pchiate—Project of Alphabet—Sacred wood—Cross—Religion—Customs between husband and wife—Adulterous persons—The valley of Pchiate—Dinner at Indar Kou's — Habitations — Industry — Family of the Prince — Customs — Names—Presents — Beauty of the women—Labours—Opinion of Indar Kou with regard to our commerce—Adieus—Departure—Arrival at Ambelaki—Stay there—Vexations—Departure with Madame E.—Arrival at Ghélendjik—Atioukhaï—Indar Kou dissatisfied with our trade—Suspicions of the Circassians—Salutations of the women, a kiss—Arrival at Pchiate—State of exchange—Attempt to assassinate me—Coldness of Indar Kou—Arrival of a Turkish vessel—Fears of its crew—Seizure of a Circassian — Antiquities — Excavations — Konaks for the Circassians — Sick-doctors—Projects of Manufactures in Circassia—Abstinence from all expression of affection for their children—Chapsouke Princess Djantine—Dances, music, poetry, adieus—Offering to the cross—Departure with M. Tausch and a Circassian—Arrival at Theodosia—My discharge—Relations in 1819 and 1820—Memorial and plans sent to Count Langeron 17

VOYAGES IN 1823 and 1824.

Page

I am charged by His Majesty the King of the Netherlands to direct a commercial expedition in the Black Sea—Departure from the Netherlands—My residence in Greece . 141

Arrival at Theodosia, and departure for Anapa—Obstacles—Young Turk of Larissa—Permission for an Establishment—Arrival of Prince Atioukhaï and presents—Trade of Anapa, and on the Coast—Account of Anapa; its capture by the Russians at different epochs—Burning of a Russian brig—I turn doctor—Correspondence of the Pacha with the Russians; war and opinion of this commander—Ancient monuments—Trade of the Armenians—Projects of re-establishing Christianity—Seizure of the "Raphael"—Trade of the Tatars in the Crimea—News—Conversation with the Pacha—Ignorance—Ramazan—Fatal shot—Danger—Escape of Russian slaves—Armenian Restaurateur—Sign of the cross—Prince Noghaï declares himself Konak of the crew—Exportation of grain to the Crimea—Presents of the Russian Government to Indar Kou—Opinions upon Abasia—Giant confined in a mountain—Prosperous state of the family of Indar Kou—Naourous—Okou-dévlet-Mourza—Circassian language—Quarrels with the Toufektchi Bachi—Fear of being attacked by the Russians—Departure and arrival at Theodosia . . . 190

VOYAGE TO REDOUTE KALE, TREBISOND, PCHIATE, AND ANAPA.

Departure from Theodosia—Redoute Kalé—Salute Athens—Trebisond—M. St. Andre—Departure—Circassian pirates, —Measures to be taken—Quotation of Strabo—Toughe—I recognize Pchiate—Remembrance preserved of me by its inhabitants—Escape of a Russian ship from Toughe—War at Pchiate—A Circassian cowl, which serves as a head-dress to the statue of John Van Eick—Similarity of the costume of fifteenth century in Europe to that of the Circassians—I land—M. Molfino, the Russian commissioner—Sad state of commercial relations of Russia at Pchiate—Present of the Emperor Alexander to the family of Indar Kou, several members of whom form part of an expedition against the Kossacks—Matapke, Moudrov's deserted wife—Shipwreck of the Circassian—Attáchment of the inhabitants to me—Reception from the Indar Kou family—Customs with respect to the dead—Poniard of the Emperor Alexander—Antiquities at Pchiate—Bar of water—Great risk caused by M. Delescluze's appetite—Nullity of business at Pchiate—Tomb of a prince, and granary—New sacred wood and cross—Days of the week —The fête of His Majesty the King of the Netherlands celebrated at Pchiate—Arrival of Indar Kou—Cups belonging to M. Jobard's mother-in-law—Protection granted to the crew—Departure for Anapa—Isle of Soukale—Arrival at Anapa, and departure for Theodosia 1

VOYAGE TO ANAPA IN 1824.

Page

Departure of M. Delescluze for Constantinople in the "Petit Auguste"—My departure for Anapa, and its cause—Boughaze—Mouth of the Kouban, and trade carried on there—Exchange carried on by the Kossacks on the Kouban—Trade of the Armenians—I cross the Boughaze—Description of the Kouban—Its different names, and the ancient and modern inhabitants of its shores—Vessel anchored at the Boughaze—Quarrels between the garrison of Anapa and the Circassians: the consequence of the Rape of last year—Konak—Neck of land of the Kouban—Djimaité—Ruins of Ermonassa—Arrival at Anapa—My lodging—Visit to the Pacha—Resume my office as Secretary and Interpreter—Combats between the Kossacks and Circassians—Emigration of 10,000 Noghaïs—Arrival from Constantinople of the brig the "Cheval Marin"—The Pacha consults me on the reception he ought to give it—Confidence he still has in me—Arrival of a reinforcement to the garrison—Turkish Cafés, acquaintances made there—Greek from Meoni—Poles, Ivan, Russians, Tatars—Slavery—Traffic of men—Circassian masquerade—Want of salt at Anapa—Market of exchange at Boughaze—Expedition of the Turks against it—I go to receive money, and celebrate there the 1st of May—Arrival at Anapa of the "Mercury" and the "Saint Laurent"—Assassination of Balthazar—Sum of money saved to M. Garibaldi—Prohibition to bear arms—An advantageous speculation missed by Mr. Ch—— for the sake of a dinner—Excur-

Page

sion to Soukha—Inscription—Medals and inscriptions on sabres — Expedition to Pchiate, and destruction of the warehouses — Assembly of the Circassian Princes at Anapa, and journey of the Pacha into the interior to make some of the tribes take the Oath of Allegiance—Return of the "Saint Laurent" to Anapa, and my departure for Boughaze — Seizure of M. Scassi's ship — Arrival of M.Kodinets at Boughaze—Pilgrims of Kazan—Passage of the strait of Kertche—Return to Theodosia . . 213

SUPPLEMENT.

The Sandjak at Anapa joined to the Pachalik of Trebisond —Consequence of the operations of the Turks in the Caucasus to subject the tribes to the Porte—Cessation of the relations between the Russians and the Noutakhaitsi—Shipwreck of a Russian ship of war at Anapa—Kindness of the Pacha—Presents made to him by the Emperor—Expedition of General Nassov to the Kouban—The daughters of Prince Kalabat made prisoners—Inquiry made by General Strekalov—Sum granted by Russia to Indar Kou —Colonel Perovsky sent to Ekatherinodar—Some Princes come to Ekatherinodar to make known the proposals of the Pacha, and to testify their wish to attach themselves to Russia—Change of Pacha at Anapa—Declaration of war from Russia to Turkey—Departure of a Russian squadron to seize Anapa—Colonel Perovski crosses the

Page

Kouban—Incurs danger in the Plain of Anapa—Arrival of the squadron off Anapa—Siege of the fortress—The Noutakhaitsi and the family of the Chipakoua fight with Russians—The Russian Commissioners retire to Pchiate—An Employé killed by the Circassians—M. Scassi at Anapa and Pchiate—Surrender of Anapa—Conduct of the Circassians with regard to the Turks—Russian colonies established at Soudjouk-kalé and Ghélendjik—Reflections on the means of pacifying the Caucasus . . . 263

APPENDIX.

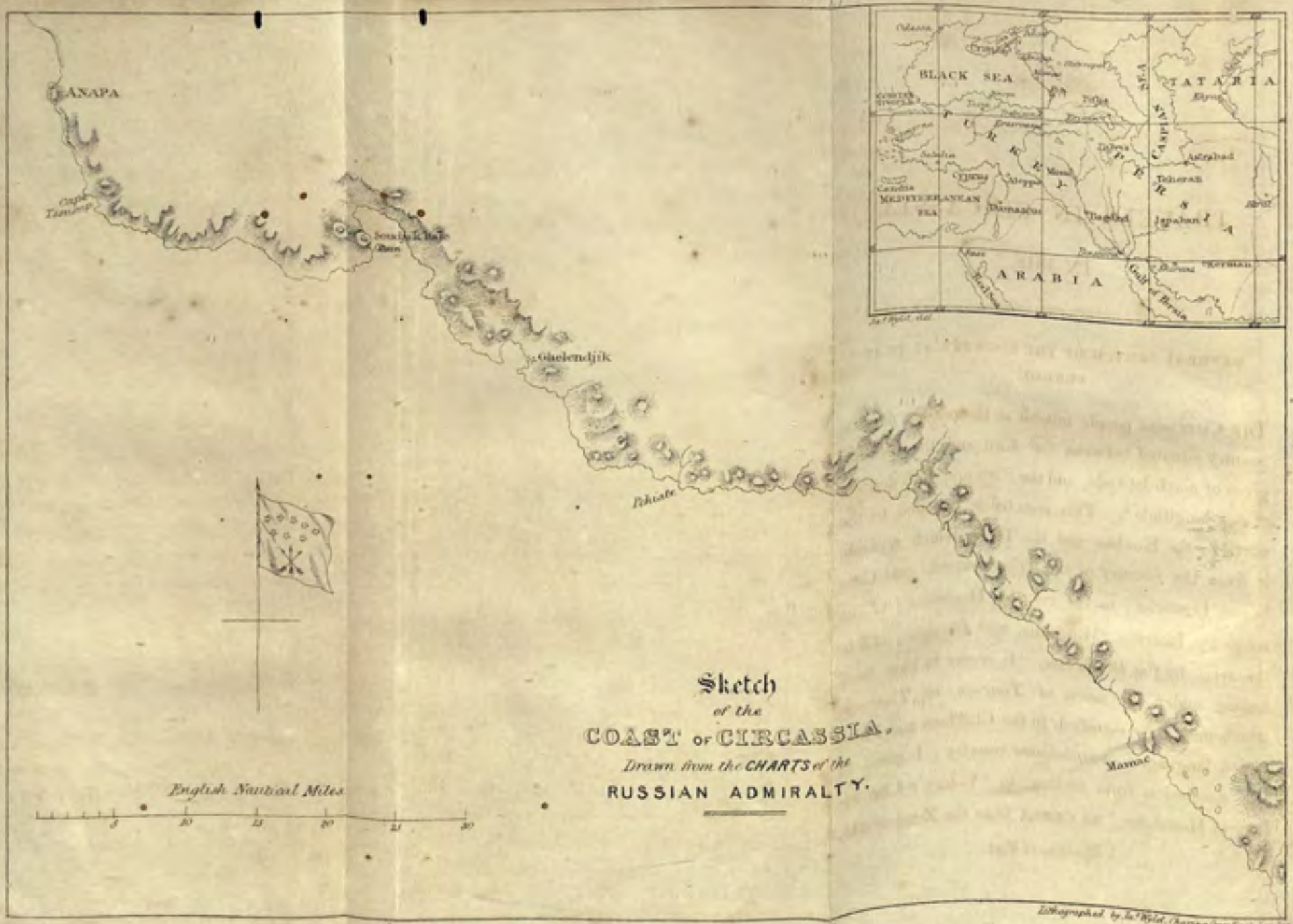
Weights, Measures, and Money, mentioned in this work . 281
Price by valuation in 1818 282
Price established by the Kossacks on the Kouban . . 283
Articles of export and import to Anapa in 1823 and 1824 . 284
Table of Commerce at Anapa in 1833 285
Vocabulary 289
Declaration of Circassian Independence 293
Letter to the Circassians signed "*Daoud*," London, Aug., 1835 298
Circassian Airs 302

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Circassians,—a Circassian Village and Granary . *Frontispiece.*

A Circassian War-boat (Vignette) . . . . . *Title.*

Map . . . . . *to face page* 1.



Sketch
of the
COAST OF CIRCASSIA.
Drawn from the **CHARTS** *of the*
RUSSIAN ADMIRALTY.

Lithographed by Jn.o Wyld, Charing Cross East, London

TRAVELS IN CIRCASSIA,

IN 1818.

GENERAL SKETCH OF THE COUNTRY AT THAT PERIOD.

THE Circassian people inhabit at the present day the country situated between the 43rd and the 45th degrees of north latitude, and the 35th and 45th degrees of east longitude *. This country is bounded to the north by the Kouban and the Terek, which separate it from the country of the Tchernomorski and Grébéntsi Cossacks; to the east by Daghistan; to the south by Imeritia, Mingrelia, and Georgia; and to the west by the Black Sea. It seems to have been known under the name of *Tour-an*, or *Taur-an*, which must have signified, in the Chaldean and Phœnician languages, *mountainous country*; I come to this conclusion from finding, in 'Volney's Chronology of Herodotus,' an extract from the Zend-avesta,

* Meridian of Paris.

vol. ii. page 55, to the following effect:—"A king of Tour-an, named *Ardjasp, who possessed a great country to the west of the Caspian,* and who at the taking of Balk (the ancient Bactra) put to death a great many fire-worshippers, amongst whom was Zoroaster." The Caucasus traverses the western part of this country from the north-west to the south-east in its whole length; it then turns to the east, rising almost perpendicularly, like a vast wall which Nature in her fantastic forms seems to have assigned for its limit, and subsequently terminates in a gentle slope at a short distance from the Caspian Sea. The Persians have given it the surname of *Seddi Iskender* (the barrier of Alexander). The name Caucasus, although very ancient, is not used by the inhabitants, who designate it by several appellations. In Persian *Koh-kuf* signifes *Mount-kaf;* Moses of Khorena calls it *Kavkas. Kaf, Kav, Tau, Tao, Dagh,* or *Thagh,* are Scythian, Turkish, and Tatar words, which signify *mountain* or *summit,* and in different Circassian languages, *Azore, Azo, Azze,* and *Ouas,* mean snow. The Elbrouz and the Mkinvari are the most elevated summits of the Caucasus; the height of the former, according to M. Vichnevsky, is 16,700 French feet above the Black Sea; that of

the second is 14,400, according to MM. Engelhardt and Parrot. The Mkinvari bears in Russia the name of Kazbek. It is at the foot of this mountain that the road passes, which the Russians have made in the midst of the *Ossetinians*, the *Kisti*, the *Ingoussi*, the *Ghondamakari*, and the *Touetchinsi*, to communicate with Georgia. To the north of the Caucasus the view extends in the distance over lovely plains watered by numerous rivers, which, after a short course, fall into the Kouban and the Terek, the former of which flows into the Black Sea, and the latter into the Caspian.

The soil, which is in general uncultivated, is everywhere good and fertile, and would suit every species of agriculture which is still unknown to the inhabitants. A great portion of the country is at the present day covered with immense forests, of the most magnificent timber which it is possible to behold.

On the coast, which offers the finest anchorage for navigators, the climate is hot, as well as in the deep valleys which separate the continuous chain of the mountains in sight, and where some small rivers flow; but in the plains situated beyond the mountains the air is sharper, and the winters are felt there in all their rigour.

It would be difficult to obtain a more precise knowledge of the origin of these tribes. It is lost in the night of time, and in the labyrinth of fictions in which the Greek poets enveloped the countries with which they were acquainted.

Many historians of antiquity agree, nevertheless, in placing in the Caucasus, and towards the Caspian Sea, the Albanians, the Iberians, the Khomares, the Massagetes, the Kaduzeens, the Cissiantes, the Moskhes, the Phtéirophages, the Savromatides, the Hircanians, the Amardes, the Pescies, the Derbians, &c., all of them barbarous* tribes, the greater part of whom, entrenched behind inaccessible rocks, constantly opposed the most powerful resistance to the efforts of the conquerors who tried to subdue them by passing the Caucasian gate. This wonderful passage is defended by a castle called *Koumania,* which is supposed to have stood on the spot where are now seen the ruins of another fort called *Dariel,* situated at the foot of the Mkinvari.

The Kolches, the Gelons, the Melankhlenes, the Kolikes, the Koraxites, the Abasses, the Henioches, the Zykhes, the Akheans, the Kerketes, and the Sintians, dwell near the borders of the Black Sea.

* This word is not in the original.

Attracted by commerce, they facilitated the entrance of strangers into their country, and many among them bent their necks to the Roman yoke. Pompey adorned his triumph with them, and the emperor Adrian gave them kings. On their coasts were to be seen the town of Dioscurias, or Sevastopolis, a colony of Milesians, according to Arrian, which others say was built by Amphitrius and Telkhius, charioteers of Castor and Pollux, and of which there now remains only the small burg called Iscouria; Pythius, surnamed the Great, at present an almost *deserted* valley, called Pitsounda, at a short distance to the north of Sokhoum-kalé; Borgys, Massaetika, Heracleum, where commences the country of the Akheans; Pagra, Hierone, and Sindica, built by the natives of the country; it is pretended that this last-mentioned town is to be found in the bay of Soudjouk-kalé. I am rather inclined to believe that it must have stood on the site now occupied by Anapa.

In Europe we know these different tribes under the general name of *Circassians*. The Russians call them *Tcherkesses;* some people suspect that the latter is a Tatar word, because *Tcher* signifies road, and *kès* to cut; which would give to the name of Tcherkesse the meaning of *cutter of road*. The Ossetes and

the Mingrelians call the Tcherkesses *Kezekh*, or *Kasakh*, which reminds us of the term *Kazakhia* employed by the Byzantine historians.

It is singular that the Circassians themselves only call themselves by the name of *Adigheu*, of which no trace is to be found amongst those which the historians of antiquity have transmitted to us. The tribes which dwell beyond the Kouban, as far as the high mountains of the Caucasus, as well as those which inhabit the coast, belong to three different nations: the Tcherkesses, the Abases, and the Tatars. I believe that there are none but Abases from the Kouban to Soukhoum-kalé; their name is found in that of the ancient *Abassa*, and that of the Tcherkesses is probably derived from that of Kerketes; and perhaps the *Noutakhaïtsi* derive their origin from the Akheans. Appian of Alexandria pretends that the latter were Greeks who, on returning from the siege of Troy, were driven by a tempest into the Euxine, where they had to endure many sufferings from the barbarians; and that, having sent some of their vessels to their mother country, they were badly received there, and driven away, which exasperated them to such a degree, that they adopted the custom of the Scythians, of immolating every stranger who came

near them. At first they sacrificed them all indiscriminately; then they selected the handsomest, and at last the victim was chosen by lot. [The Noutakhaïtsi, who are an Abasian tribe, dwell to the west of the Chapsoukes; their territory extends from west to east, along the Kouban, for eight leagues, as far as the stream *Koudaka;* on the south they are bounded by Great Abasia, which commences beyond Pchiate amongst the Noutakhaïtsi; and on the left bank of the Kouban the Tatars, or Tcherkesses, have established themselves. They formerly inhabited the island of Taman, which they abandoned on the occupation of the Crimea by the Russians. They are called islanders, and amongst them are to be found some of the Sultans of the Crimea.

[M. Klaproth estimates the population of the Caucasian isthmus at 2,375,487 souls, according to the following computation:—

Tcherkesses . . .	51,130 families
Abases . . .	53,898
Noghaï . . .	9,480
Ossetinians . .	33,915
Mitsdjehhi . . .	35,850
Lezghis . . .	138,700
Turkish and Turcoman tribes .	79,914
Georgian countries . .	125,000
	527,887 families;

from which one must deduct the two last lines, which comprise the inhabitants who are more or less subject to the Russians, in order to have the real population of the independent tribes*.]

The Circassians at the present day offer the astonishing spectacle of a free population, which has always preserved itself in an *almost barbarous* † state, although surrounded by more civilized nations. They are scattered as far as the summits of the highest mountains, divided by populations of distinct denominations, and forming so many small feudal republics, of which some princes are the chiefs. The Turks alone, since the conquest of the eastern empire, have kept up commercial relations with them; and, without endeavouring to subdue them, they are contented with the possession of Anapa, a fortress situated at the northern extremity of the coast, and eight leagues from the mouth of the Kuban, which serves as the boundary of Russia. It is there that they have established their market with the Circassians, of whom they receive boys and girls, corn, wax, honey, hides, skins, &c., in exchange for merchandise brought

* The sentences within brackets are an addition inserted by the Russians, in the Odessa edition.

† In the original the epithet is "primitive."

annually from Constantinople and Anatolia. This commerce, which introduces the plague among them, and carries away their children, necessarily occasions a marked diminution in the population. An enthusiastic love of independence, and an heroic valour which nothing can subdue, renders them formidable to their neighbours. Accustomed from the tenderest age to violent bodily exercise, and to the management of arms and horses, their only knowledge of glory is that of vanquishing the enemy, and of shame, that of flight; we see them, therefore, dashing across their frontiers, pouncing upon their neighbours, ravaging their lands, carrying away their flocks, and reducing to slavery all those whom their arms have spared. Even the sea offers no obstacle to their spirit of plunder: embarking in frail barks, they frequently seize on the vessels which approach their coast. Nevertheless, a usage which is not generally known, but which is also found amongst many other barbarous nations, tends to dissipate the fears of the traveller who comes to visit them. It consists in choosing a host called a *Konak*, whose name it is sufficient to know to put oneself under his protection. This individual is thenceforward, in the eyes of his countrymen, the guarantee of all the actions of his protegé, to whom

he shows every mark of the greatest hospitality, and whom he protects from every insult. [*Notwithstanding their love of plunder*, these people are gentle and susceptible of friendship; this is more particularly remarked amongst the Noutakhaïtsis, who amount to 5350 families, and who are the allies of the Chapsoukes their neighbours, who are renowned for their bravery, and whose numbers may be estimated at 10,000 families*.]

The incursions of the Circassians into the territory of the Tchernomorski Kossacks, and the reprisals of the latter, keep up a continual war on the frontiers, which Russia has for the last forty years fixed as the boundary of the empire. The Russian government has from time to time sent thither troops which, in a country very little known and of difficult access, have very rarely obtained any marked advantages [and these violent means have only rendered still more fierce, men who conceive themselves to be invincible in their mountains†.] During the last war‡ with Turkey, the capture of Anapa in 1807, and in

* This sentence is added by the Russians.

† The sentences within brackets are omitted in the Russian edition.

‡ The war here alluded to is the war which was terminated in 1812 by the Peace of Bucharest.—Ed.

1811 that of Soudjouk-kalé, a small fort seven leagues to the south, and defended by the Turks, would have been of some advantage if they had not been restored to the Grand Seignor at the peace of 1818*. At the present day, Soudjouk-kalé is deserted, and Anapa, whose fortifications have been increased, is commanded by a pasha.

During the five years in which the Russian flag waved over this fortress, some Christian speculators attempted within its walls to carry on a small commerce with the Circassians. Although it was not sufficiently important to produce a change in their minds [many of them appeared desirous of forming relations with Russia †], it gave reason to hope that it would be possible in time to establish friendly relations between the two countries. Madame Catherine Bouholtz, the wife of the general who commanded at Anapa, a descendant of a Circassian family, from which she had been carried away at the age of fourteen, used every means in her power to inspire confidence in her countrymen, and to attach them to Russia. In 1811 this lady received with kindness a Genoese of the name of M. Scassi, who had been

* This is altered from the original.

† Omitted in the Russian edition.

attracted by commerce to Anapa, and she induced him to give more extension to his affairs, by making acquaintance with some Circassian chiefs. In 1814, after the surrender of Anapa, M. Scassi, who had returned to Russia, asked the government for a transport, in order to convey salt to the roadstead of Pchiate, and to export timber for the arsenals of the Imperial navy. He obtained it; and under the protection of Prince Mehmet Indar Oglou, M. Scassi, with the crew of the Russian transport the "Danube," landed at Pchiate, where he was well received.

The Duke de Richelieu, who had been the soul of this first expedition, conceived from that time forward the project of terminating a fruitless war, and establishing commercial relations with Circassia. The Russian government approved of the plan, and M. Scassi, attached to the Department of Foreign Affairs in 1817, was charged with its execution. He received for this purpose from the Emperor Alexander a gift of a thousand pounds of salt from the salt-works of the Crimea.

At this period I built in the village of Alouchta, on the southern coast of that peninsula, a schooner which M. Scassi thought suitable for the projected enterprise: it was called the "Circassian," and was

furnished with the naval flag of a government packet. I was appointed to command her, and to direct the enterprise. I had already made a voyage to Anapa in 1813, and the information which I had then acquired respecting the interior of Circassia, excited in me for a long time the desire of becoming better acquainted with the country. I was delighted at finding an opportunity of gratifying my wishes by associating myself with the labours of M. Scassi.

JOURNAL OF MY VOYAGE.

On the 29th of April, 1818 (o.s.), at 11 o'clock in the morning, I made sail from the port of Kertche, with a cargo consisting of salt and iron. My intention was to anchor first at the port of Ghélendjik, and afterwards in the roadsted of Pchiate, where two commissioners had been established. It was a part of my instructions to pay a visit also, if possible, to the southern coast to seek for new harbours, more favourable perhaps for commerce, and affording more secure anchorages. In addition to the crew, I had

on board two Admiralty carpenters, appointed for cutting down the timber, and an interpreter.

Although the south-east wind was against us, I hoped to find a more favourable wind beyond the Straits, and we tacked past the bank of Paulovsk, and afterwards that of Taman. At three o'clock in the afternoon I was obliged to anchor at Ambelaki, owing to a calm.

April 30.—At four o'clock in the morning I set sail again with a light breeze from W. S. W. At nine o'clock it veered to the south with a heavy sea, which obliged me to anchor again at eight o'clock in the evening, under shelter of Cape Takil, in five fathom water, with muddy bottom. During the night the wind subsided.

May 1.—At four o'clock in the morning a land-breeze from the south-west enabled us to set sail again. We left the Cape to the east. At noon the wind veered to the south, in the afternoon to the west, and at last it blew hard from the north-west. We set every sail. At eight o'clock in the evening Anapa bore N. E. ¼ N., and the Cape of Soudjouk-kalé E. ¼ S. E. The wind freshened more and more. I thought it right to shorten sail in order not to reach the entrance of the port of Ghélendjik at night. The

top-gallant sails were taken in: we were going at the rate of seven knots.

As we approached the coast of Circassia the wind blew on the shore; it soon veered to the north-east, and blew strong, with squalls, which made us take in a reef at midnight. The currents which in these seas flow rapidly to the north, prevented our advancing, notwithstanding the strength of the wind, and thus we found ourselves the next morning at half-past four o'clock only off the bay of Soudjouk-kalé.

May 2. — After having re-set all our sails, we passed at nine o'clock with a light wind, Cape Tdouba, which forms the right side of the entrance of Soudjouk-kalé. It is very prominent, perpendicular, and of a triangular form, followed towards the south-east by a long point, edged along its whole extent by a very wide straight line, separated by a space of about a mile, from another very high point, whose sides are perpendicular, with white and circular cliffs. At eleven o'clock we were opposite this opening, which I thought must be the entrance of the Port of Ghélendjik. A view of the coasts which had been given me by a Ragusan captain, of the name of Brateglich, confirmed my opinion. Nevertheless, an officer of the schooner, a pilot in the Imperial navy, did not

agree with me, relying on the position of this harbour as laid down in the chart of the Black Sea by Lieutenant Boudistchev, who places it twenty-five miles from Soudjouk-kalé, from which we were only about twelve miles distant; and he persuaded me to steer for a creek a little further off, at a short distance from a cape which concealed from us the rest of the southern coast. This creek was, in my opinion, the Jalandji-Ghélendjik (false Ghelendjik) of the Turks. As water was seen from the mast-head beyond the point, I was about to reach the opening of the inlet, with the wind astern, when I perceived a Circassian bark coasting along the shore, and I sent my boat to meet it with the interpreter and six sailors, in order to be more fully convinced of what appeared to me already indisputable.

The Circassians had at first the air of wishing to avoid them; but they soon allowed themselves to be approached, and I heard them sing their favourite air of *Ariracha**. Our emissary hastened back to inform us that we were opposite Ghélendjik. A light breeze from the westward allowed us to enter, passing sufficiently near the point to starboard, where we found nine fathom water; and I anchored at three o'clock

* See Appendix.

on the right side of the bay in six fathoms, with a muddy bottom, at the distance of a musket-shot and a half from three store-houses on the shore.

Our arrival had brought together a great number of Circassians on the beach. I thought it necessary to go on shore with the interpreter, who advised me to have some swords and pistols put into the boat; but I thought it more advisable to gain the confidence of the inhabitants by presenting ourselves to them unarmed, and abandoning ourselves to their hospitality. As we approached nearer, their numbers rapidly increased, and all of them appeared differently arrayed with glittering arms.

I could not, however, help reflecting on my position; and I confess that my feelings were not unmingled with anxiety. I was approaching a wild people, known during so many centuries for their barbarism, and having nothing to oppose to their love of plunder but the solitary name of a man whom I did not know, with whose feelings towards me I was unacquainted, who lived about ten miles off, and whose protection, judging as a European, I dared not count upon.

(How much I was deceived, and how respected and sacred is the feeling which the Tcherkesses attach to

hospitality! One sees this virtue put into practice amongst them, whilst with us we find it only in the writings of philosophers *.)

On our landing, the Circassians surrounded us, and appeared impatient to hear the name of our *Konak;* this was to be the signal of our liberty or of our slavery. I made them understand that we were people belonging to Prince Mehmet Indar Oglou; they then stretched out their hands to us, and congratulated us on our happy arrival. As it was late, I contented myself with making inquiries after our Konak and the commissioners, to whom I sent an express, promising two small measures of salt as a remuneration for the journey.

On returning on board I gave orders that each watch should be composed of the half of the crew, who were to keep a sharp look-out, and that I, as well as the interpreter, should be awoke on the approach of the first boat. A land-breeze from the south-east, which had sprung up at sunset, lasted the whole of the night.

May 3.—This day, as well as the day before, our flag was hoisted at the stern, and a Genoese flag at the mizen. The latter was to be hoisted every day.

* This paragraph is expunged in the Russian edition.

M. Scassi had given me this advice; he thought that this might be to our advantage, on account, he said, of the remembrance which these people cherish of the Genoese, whom they call *Djenouves*, and whom they look upon as brothers, in the same manner as they do the French. But it was easy for me to perceive that this precaution was unnecessary, for the Circassians to whom I wished to point out this flag did not appear to understand what had been my object. [I subsequently observed a measure adopted by our two commissioners, which appeared to me much better calculated to secure their operations, which was that of passing for Frenchmen, and not appearing to be agents of Russia.]

I do not know to what to attribute the attachment of the Circassians to the French, whom they call *Francies*, but oftener *Franikes*. With regard to their attachment to the Genoese, it is doubtless to be traced to the power which their republic formerly enjoyed in the Black Sea, and to the colonies which it probably established on the coasts of the Abases. Some researches, which it would be easy to make, might enlighten us on this point; and perhaps it might be possible to find Genoese words in the language of the Noutakhaïtsi-Circassians; besides,

their mode of salutation by taking off their caps, which is unique amongst the Orientals, seems to prove an affinity with Europeans.

These brotherly feelings by which we are united, do not, however, diminish in any degree the necessity of our having a Konak. In 1813, some Polish soldiers, who were sent as prisoners into Georgia, after having formed part of the French army which invaded Russia, burning with the desire of recovering their liberty, formed a plan of escaping by flight across the Caucasus, and twelve of them succeeded. After marching for several days, they fell in with some Circassians, to whom they mentioned that they were French; upon this the former invited them to their dwellings, where they were well treated; but faithful to their customs, when the Poles wished to continue their journey, each of them retained the man who had fallen to his lot, endeavouring to explain to him that he was no longer free, but that in the character of brothers they would seize the first opportunity of selling them to the merchants who should approach their shores. In fact, when I was at Anapa in May, 1813, after the surrender of that town to the Turks, the man who lived nearest was brought to me. I had but little money, and not

being able to furnish the sum required, I was on the point of seeing them carry away into the mountains the unfortunate man who had been soothed by the smiles of hope, and whose inexpressible misery afflicted my heart. I endeavoured to excite the compassion of his master, but in vain. I then remembered that I possessed a jewel set in gold, to which I was extremely attached; it had belonged to the most affectionate of mothers, whom I had lost a year before: the object of the sacrifice being worthy of her who had given me birth, I did not hesitate to make it, and I had the happiness of restoring a man to liberty! As the war continued in Europe, he preferred going to Constantinople in a Turkish vessel, to landing in a Russian port. This honest soldier hastened to implore the liberality of some persons of distinction in order to obtain the means of repaying me, although I was far distant, and had asked for no return; but this man who, whilst enslaved amongst barbarians, had still felt a sentiment of pride, inspired by the respect attached to a great nation, found himself repulsed by those who ought to have protected him; and he would have died of hunger at Constantinople, if he had not found the means of gaining subsistence by his industry. I am grieved

at having neglected to note down his name in my tablets. He was a subaltern in the Lancers, and a native of Cracow. I have since learnt that many of his companions had been ransomed by M. Mircovitch, a Ragusan, established as a merchant at Anapa.

[The Circassians entertain great admiration for Napoleon, whom they call *Panapourte le Grand Djighid** (the Great Brave).] The Imperial government of France showed a desire to take advantage of the warlike and independent spirit of the Circassians, by charging M. Fourcade, Consul-General at Synope from 1803 to 1811, with collecting detailed information about them. This able functionary could not obtain any that was satisfactory, having been obliged to confine his researches to the maritime towns of Anatolia.

At eight o'clock a boat, which appeared at the entrance of the harbour, steered towards us. The four men whom it contained came on board the schooner singing, and after having saluted us by taking off their caps, they told us they were sent from Pchiate, by the wife of our Konak, who, having already heard of our arrival, had charged them to congratulate us, and to offer us their services. I gave

* This sentence is not in the original.

them some brandy, of which each of them drank three glasses. This is their universal habit whatever beverage it be, or however large the cup. Their boat, like all those which I have since seen, was flat, without a keel, the planks fixed with nails and some wooden bolts against very thin ribs: from the prow there arose a figure representing the head of an animal which it would be difficult to name; but the Circassians pretend that it is the head of a goat. May it not be a memento of the ram represented on the prow of the Greek vessel which bore Phryxus, and whose memory was so long preserved by these people? Their very short oars, which were attached to rowels of an extraordinary length, had a small wooden bar placed transversely to rest the hands upon: they had a helm and a small square sail. Many of these boats are large enough to contain about sixty men; it is in these boats that they sometimes carry off unarmed merchant vessels becalmed at a small distance from their shores. The ancients called them *Kamara*.

In order to reach the shore I embarked in a boat belonging to the vassals of Indar Kou, who sung in chorus, *Arriracha*, a sort of chant which the Circassian rowers sing in two choruses, and with which they accompany the movement of their oars, which is

stronger or weaker, according to the different tones of the air. They accompany this air with some very comical contortions, which, in their opinion, is one of the principal requisites of a good rower.

We landed at the same place as on the preceding evening, to the right of a small stream, near which are built three cabins, made of hurdles, which serve for warehouses. Some Circassians came to meet us; amongst them was an old Greek, who had been for forty years established in the country. He had married a Circassian, by whom he had several children. She had died two years previously of the plague. This man invited us to enter one of the warehouses, where he had still 600 pouds of salt. Delighted with having met with an inhabitant with whom I could converse, I accepted his offer, and seated myself on some old rags, which served him for a sofa. Whilst we were engaged in smoking pipes, he informed me that Prince Indar Oglou was invited to the environs of Sondjouk-kalé to celebrate the anniversary of the funeral of one of his friends, whither our commissioners had accompanied him. One of them, named Moudrov, had just carried off a young girl of Pchiate, by which means he had irritated a great part of the inhabitants of that valley to such a degree, as to occa-

sion fears of consequences disastrous to our establishment; and Indar Oglou who, in his quality of Konak, was bound to defend him, found himself no less compromised than Moudrov himself.

I asked whether, if we were accompanied by some person, we might walk about the environs, which appeared to be magnificent. I was answered in the affirmative; and a man motioned to us to follow him. We entered with him into a charming plain, where a stream wound its course under the shade of the plane, the ash, the yoke elm, and the wild apple and pear-tree, mingled with the vine, which crept up to their summits. We soon found ourselves at the entrance of a thick wood, where our conductor stopped, and told us with a satisfied air that he would let us drink some milk: he held his sabre in his hand, and carried a pistol in his girdle—a sudden apprehension seized us: the pilot and the interpreter assumed an embarrassed air, and already I regretted to have ventured so far. However, the agreeable countenance of this man induced me to follow him, and my comrades followed my example. Having reached, by narrow paths, which traversed the wood in different directions, a habitation composed of four cabins, surrounded with trees, we entered the nearest of them, which was appropriated to strangers. It consisted of

one room, plastered within and without with clay; a great chimney in the Tatar fashion stood at the extremity, and on either side were two sorts of sofas covered with matting; saddles, bridles, and arms, adorned the walls. We were told that we were in the dwelling of a Prince, related to our Konak, named *Chagane-Ghazi-Oglou-Kochmite*, who was now absent on the same ceremony which had called away Indar Oglou. One of his vassals, a sort of steward, received us very politely, and offered us various refreshments; but perceiving that we were anxious to proceed, he invited us for the following day.

We went on to the sea-shore, where, whilst conversing with the Greco-Circassian, I made inquiries with regard to the sale of merchandize: he complained much of the great change which had taken place in the country since the plague had made such frightful ravages in it: it had only lately disappeared, after having carried off a considerable number of the inhabitants of the coast*. This scourge appears to

* This plague carried off two young persons, who had been given by their relations as hostages to the Duke of Richelieu, during his abode at Odessa; they had been placed at the Lyceum of that city, and had received a careful education, but it is said that on their return home they had relapsed into barbarism[a].

[a] This note is added in the Odessa edition.

have struck the Circassians with terror, and to have made them feel what disasters might be entailed upon them by any liaisons with the Turks.

No ship of that nation had yet appeared since the commencement of the fine weather, and according to all appearance none would come there again, since the Pacha of Anapa being interested that all the commerce of exchange with the Abases should be concentrated in his fortress, had succeeded in inducing the Porte to forbid the Ottoman subjects to traffic on any other part of the coast. This measure, which obliged the inhabitants of the most distant Cantons to go there in order to purchase what they required, had much indisposed them towards him.

A gentle south wind coming from the offing had tempered the heat of the day, which was followed by the most lovely night; a land-breeze filled the air with the perfume of a thousand aromatic plants, and the song of the nightingale alone broke the silence which reigned in the whole extent of the bay. Towards eleven o'clock piercing cries reached our ears; they resembled the alarm of the Circassians which we had already heard mentioned, and we thought we were menaced with an attack; but the interpreter quieted our fears, telling us that they were those of

the jackals *. These animals, which it is said are not seen in Europe, partake of the nature of the fox; they are great thieves, and frequently carry off the shoes and caps of those whom they find asleep in the wood; they are very greedy of the flesh of dead bodies. Their skin is useful as fur. They sometimes assemble in the night in considerable numbers in the woods, uttering cries similar to those which we had just heard. The Circassians consider this as a sign of rain; I do not know whether the observation be a just one, but it is certain that they would have rendered us uneasy for a long time, had there not been a man with us who knew the difference between the cry of this animal and that of the inhabitants, which it much resembled, particularly to ears so little practised as our own.

May 4.—At eight o'clock in the morning we went by land to the place where we had been invited; we found there the third son of Indar Oglou, who had been induced by the news of our arrival to come to Ghélendjik. This young prince, named Kaspolete, was remarkable for his pleasing appearance; his mild

* Olearius speaks of the profound impression which the cries of these animals made on the private Secretary of the Duke of Holstein, when he was shipwrecked upon the coast of Daghestan: he became insane in consequence.

countenance prepossessed us in his favour. He was tall, well made, and very slight, like all the Circassians: his dress, similar to that of those whom I had hitherto seen, was in no respect remarkable. He wore large linen pantaloons tight to the leg from the knee downwards; a vest or tunic, which served also for a shirt, was covered with a garment of the same form, of grey cloth, having on each side cases made of morocco, which were used for holding cartridges. He wore long stockings of grey wool, without feet, and fastened under the knee by broad felt garters; morocco shoes, very high, without soles, and a sheepskin cap. His arms were a gun with a small round butt-end, carried in a shoulder-belt in a woollen cover; a very broad poniard, a pistol mounted in silver, and a sabre with a hilt of the same metal, without a guard, mounted like a knife, and whose embroidered scabbard was composed of several pieces of morocco of different colours.

All the luxury of the Circassians consists in fine arms, which they preserve with the greatest care. They shave their heads, but few of them do so as much as the Turks, and the tuft preserved on the crown is larger. Old men shave their beards, while the young men in general only cut them with scissors,

so that a great part of them always remain to mark the virile age. They all wear moustachios more or less long.

At nine o'clock the vassal who had invited us the preceding day came to conduct us to his house. During our progress thither, my interpreter informed me that the Circassians have no fixed hours for their repasts, and that they only eat when they are hungry a piece of bread or a millet cake. During their journies, or their incursions against their neighbours, a small quantity of fermented flour of millet suffices for their support during the whole day. They carry this food, which they call *komil*, in a small leathern purse suspended to their saddles. It is only on the occasion of the arrival of some stranger, or upon fête days, that this frugality is ever broken through; they then eat at all hours, and fare luxuriously.

We were received in the same chamber as on the preceding day, and were forced to seat ourselves immediately on our entrance, and to remain in the same position until our departure. This inconvenient practice, which is an affair of etiquette towards strangers, annoyed me considerably; and, in order to render it supportable, I profited by the liberty afforded of assuming every sort of position: there is but one which

is inconvenient, and it is singular that it is the only one which is habitual to all orientals, namely, that of sitting with the legs crossed, and upon the heels.

The Circassians on their entrance committed all their arms to the charge of the people of the house, who immediately hung them upon the wall near those of the master of the house*. They only retained their poniards, which they never lay aside. They remained standing, out of respect to us: had we not been there, they would all have seated themselves, with the exception of the master of the house. They brought us water to wash our hands, and immediately afterwards dinner was served on eight small round tables, about three feet in diameter, which followed each other with the greatest rapidity. On the first were different dishes of sweetmeats and milk food; on the second was a sort of tart; it was composed of a boiled cake of millet; in the middle was an excellent ragout of chicken, coloured red with a great quantity

* I amused myself by comparing some of the Circassian usages with those of the ancient Greeks, described by Homer, and which I have inserted as notes to this work.

"The spear receiving from her hand, he placed
Against a column, fair with sculpture graced;
Where seemly ranged, in peaceful order stood
Ulysses' arms, now long disused to blood."

Odyssey, Book I.

of pimento. I ate but little of it, because it was hot, and we had no forks; the millet cake we used as bread. The rest of the repast was composed of salt meat, which is eaten with honey, pilaw *, eggs, &c.; and the meal being ended, water was again presented to us to wash our hands. It would be disgraceful in a Circassian to eat before strangers, and our host, the young prince, and his other friends, only partook of our dinner by eating our dessert as it was carried away into the court.

We had brought handkerchiefs and needles as a present to the mistress of the house; but as she did not appear, I sent them to her by our interpreter, who conveyed our thanks to her, as well as to her husband, for the reception they had given us.

The son of Indar Oglou accepted with pleasure our proposal that he should visit our vessel: he came there attended by some other Circassians, who accompanied us to the sea-shore. Although we had just left the table, I caused our dinner to be served up, which we found ready on our arrival, and they seemed to like it, as well as some glasses of brandy, of which they drank at different intervals, and according to

* Rice boiled in water, and moistened with butter, used among the orientals.

their custom, each drinking three cups successively. I spoke to them of the Turks, with whom they were very ill satisfied since the ravages made by the plague, and the prohibition to the merchants to trade on their coasts. One of them even went so far as to say, that undoubtedly relations with Russia would suit them better, if she would respect their liberty. I assured them that it did not enter into the views of that power to deprive them of it, and that her only wish was to establish a commerce which should provide for their wants, and should guarantee their tranquillity.

We gave the prince on his departure a salute of three guns. He proceeded with the other young Circassians to the environs of Soudjouk-kale, where his father was, in order to exhibit his skill in foot and horse-races, which are customary on the anniversary of a funeral. These fêtes consist in general of prayers over the tomb of the departed, and in a great repast given to the guests. Several stuffs, carried by a swift horseman, become the recompense of the most skilful racers, who, being also on horseback, use their utmost efforts to reach him, and to carry off the prize of their celerity. Various other exercises of this kind terminate the fête.

May 5.—This day, Sunday, the Greek Dimo asked my permission to come on board, to pray before a cross which was in the room. I acceded to his wishes with pleasure, and he brought some tapers of yellow wax, which the Circassians, as well as ourselves, use in their religious ceremonies. An inhabitant of Ghélendjik, who came with them, preserved a respectful silence during this prayer.

On the return of the express which I had sent to our commissioners, we learned that one of them, M. Tausch, was to arrive on the morrow.

I had that day a remarkable proof of the moderate price of cattle: I payed for a calf the value in salt of eight Turkish piastres; two goats and some eggs cost us two pounds of salt and an ocha * of iron.

May 6.—A pistol-shot from the land announced to us the arrival of M. Tausch: it had been retarded in consequence of the affair of Moudrov, the details of which were the more disagreeable, inasmuch as it appeared to me that the distrust of the inhabitants and their repulsiveness towards foreigners, who were already acting amongst them in defiance of their laws, must necessarily be augmented, and must engender new hatred. I could not, however, yet form a just

* About 2¾ lbs.

estimate of the crime of our Commissioner, having heard it said some years previously that a lover in Circassia must carry off her who is destined to be his wife. M. Tausch explained it to me in the following manner:—The fair sex, although destined to lead a most laborious life, are far from being condemned here, as in Turkey, to an eternal solitude. The young girls, more especially, are admitted to all the fêtes, which they embellish by their gaiety, and their society is one of the sweetest recreations of the men, with whom they live upon terms of the greatest familiarity.

As soon as a young man has made his choice, he must agree with the father upon the price of his daughter; it consists in general of a coat of mail, sabres, muskets, horses, and some oxen. The bargain made, the young man comes to carry off his love, accompanied by a friend, who places her on horseback, and mounts behind her. They then start at full gallop for the habitation of one of their friends. The godfather presents there the young girl, who is soon installed in the room destined for the married couple: there she patiently awaits alone, her future husband keeping up the fire, which serves them for a light. It is only when all the people in the house are supposed to be asleep that his friend goes to seek him in the

wood to bring him to her. Before abandoning themselves to the pleasures of the god, who unites them, he loosens with his poniard the corset which his bride has worn from the time when she was five or six years old; it is made of morocco, and furnished with two plates of wood placed upon the chest, which by their strong pressure prevent the expansion of the bosom, this part of the body being regarded as an attribute of maternity which it would be shameful to allow to be visible in a young girl. The corset also confines the bust very much from the collar-bone to the waist, by means of a cord which passes through leathern rings; sometimes silver hooks serve the same purpose; they even wear it during the night, and only leave it off when it is worn out, in order to put on another quite as small. This might lead one to say that the figure of a Circassian girl the day of her marriage is the same size as it was when she was six years old.

M. Lacroix, who, in his work on the countries situated between the Caspian and the Black Sea, has published some tolerably exact details with respect to the Circassians, must have been led into error by those who furnished him with the materials of which he formed his narrative, when he says, "that the shoulders of the young girls become very wide in con-

sequence of their stays, a *fault* to which little attention is paid in consideration of the *beauty of their bosoms*." A stranger is, on the contrary, shocked by the flat bosoms of the young Circassians, and it is only the married women who, freed from their virginal corset, allow Nature to resume her rights.

No other ceremony than rejoicings are necessary in order to legalize a marriage. The next morning, at break of day, the husband leaves his young wife, who takes possession of a separate house which he has built for her on his property, and where he only sees her again at night, or with the greatest mystery—for a sort of dishonour attaches to the idea of appearing in public with one's wife. If the husband be rich, he immediately pays to his father-in-law the price agreed upon: in the contrary case, he does it by degrees, and often takes several years to fulfil his agreement.

The custom of not seeing their wives does not arise from any contempt of the Circassians for the fair sex; I think, on the contrary, that it was originally established with the view of prolonging the empire of love between the husband and wife, by the same difficulties experienced by lovers in obtaining possession of each other, and to which the duration of its illusion may frequently be ascribed. A similar law was given by Ly-

curgus to the Lacedæmonians, a fact which might serve to prove the origin of the Abases, or rather the establishment of some colonies of the Peloponnesus on their shores, were it not certain that many nations seem to have had similar customs from their infancy. And the Spartans themselves have only differed in so far from other Greeks that they maintained themselves by means of institutions from which others have departed in proportion as they have become more civilized.

Moudrov had been for some time acquainted with a young girl, with whom he was desperately in love, and who was equally attached to him; but her parents refused to bestow her on him, having in view a more advantageous connexion for her among the Chapsoukes—so true is it that even in Circassia love is not exempt from the impediments and troubles occasioned elsewhere by ambition and interest; but everywhere fertile in resources, it suggested a new idea to our Circassian, who, in spite of the restraint under which she was held by her family, found means secretly to warn her lover of the day when she was to be carried far away from him, and full of confidence in his courage, she proposed that he should carry her off. Moudrov is a Greek. Sensitive to the insult, and burning to avenge it, he assembled the

sons of Indar Oglou, informed them of the affront he had received, by being denied possession of her whom his heart had selected for a wife, and begged their assistance. Their title of Konak obliged them to comply with his request; and immediately they posted themselves in ambuscade on the route by which the cortege was to pass: they dispersed it as soon as it appeared, and the young *Matapkhe*, the prize of the victory, was carried in triumph to the old prince, where she was that evening united to her lover.

M. Tausch confirmed to me the news of the prohibition made by the Ottoman Porte to the Turks to trade on this coast, any where else but at Anapa: this circumstance seemed to me to be much in favour of the establishment of our commercial relations. In order to ensure their success, we ought to hasten to procure for the Circassians every thing which Turkish commerce has hitherto provided for them; and Russia might do so with so much the more advantage that she possesses many of the most necessary articles which this nation is forced to go in quest of to the Crimea.

I determined on sending a man to the quarantine at Boughaze, charged with a letter for M. Scassi,

whom it was important to make acquainted with this affair.

The talents and intelligence of M. Tausch delighted me. This Commissioner was a young German, who had been induced by circumstances to settle among the Circassians, after having been employed in trade at Anapa, when that fortress belonged to the Russians; he learned their language perfectly, and became indispensable to M. Scassi, who from the commencement attached him to his person, and named him chief of the establishment at Pchiate. A residence of seven years in the country had led him to adopt the manners and customs of the inhabitants, among whom he seemed to be much beloved. He might therefore be of great use to us in our operations, and the more so, as I saw no one who could supply his place.

May 7.—I took advantage of his presence to examine more particularly the anchorage of Ghélendjik, and to complete the plan of it which I had commenced.

This port is called by the inhabitants Koutlouzi; its entrance is about a mile wide. The point towards the N. E. is low, without trees, and surrounded by

a ridge of calcareous stone, which projects into the offing towards the S. S. W. to the distance of about a cable's length and a half. That towards the south is precipitous, and formed of schistus disposed in oblique layers: the inhabitants call it *Tliouvieusse;* at its extremity it is raised about twenty-five feet above the level of the sea, and continues rising at the S. E., towards the valley of Mézip *. A few shrubs grow upon it; a bank extends from thence a cable's length to the south, forms a bottom of schistus, which surrounds the cape, and extends to the interior of the port towards the warehouses, where it becomes much wider. The sea advances nearly to the same extent on both sides into the interior on the E. S. E., and at the W. N. W., and forms an ellipsis, or, to speak more clearly, the figure of an oyster-shell, of about two miles and a half in length, and one mile and a half in breadth. In its whole extent there is a good bottom of mud mixed with shells. At the entrance of the port it is six fathoms deep, and diminishes gradually until very near the shore, where it is but four fathoms deep, on the right side opposite the stream. No wind from the sea can cause any

* The Valley of Mézip is what the Turks call Talandji-Ghélendjik, or false Ghélendjik.

damage in this port: precautions should be taken only against the N. E. wind, which comes down with violence from the mountains. This is common to all the other anchorages on this coast. The valley through which the stream winds which precipitates itself into the sea near the warehouses, may be about a league in extent: it is necessary to cross it, in order to go to Pchiate. It is bounded on the N. and S. E. towards Mézip by high mountains, and on the south by the hill which forms the height of the point of *Tliouvieusse*. In this valley we find the greater part of the inhabitants of Ghélendjik scattered in the woods, each distant about a quarter of a league from the other. Some fields are cultivated in the neighbourhood. All the northern part of the bay is occupied by the foot of the mountains, whose declivity is extremely rapid, and intersected by ravines. The trees are very small there, and are much scattered, doubtless in consequence of the fall of the waters, which in the rainy season must flow in torrents. The shore is rugged, formed of grey schistus, over which flow limpid streams. The road is only practicable at the edge of the sea on horseback, or even on foot. To the left of the port, opposite the warehouses, is seen another fine plain, wooded like the

former, and of about a league and a half in extent towards Soudjouk-kalé.

All this country seemed to me to be very fertile: it is covered with a great quantity of plants, which often made me regret that I was no botanist; I saw many aromatic herbs. In spite of the dislike which the Circassians have for tortoises, they allow them nevertheless to multiply quietly on their lands, where they are to be found in prodigious numbers. The sea-tortoises, although very numerous, are not found in such quantities. From what I have heard of some parts of the interior, and from having found many pumice-stones on the shore of the sea, it seems as if there had been formerly volcanoes in this country.

In general, the whole coast of the Abases is very ill laid down on the Russian map of the Black Sea, by Lieutenant Bondistchev; but a most singular error is that of the latitude of the anchorage of Ghélendjik, situated on this map at 44° 24′, and which, from the observations I made during my residence there, is 44° 33′. This difference of 9′ in latitude causes one of fifteen miles in its position.

May 8. — According to the intelligence we received, the inhabitants of Pchiate seemed disinclined to come to any terms of conciliation. The arrival of

Prince Mehmet alone, which was fixed for Saturday, was to decide as to the spot where we should unlade our cargo. This Prince had sent a man of his household to attend upon us during the period of our residence.

Since our arrival, I had perceived that the appearance of the crew, composed for the most part of Russians, inspired the Circassians with distrust; I had done my utmost to dissipate it, but some very indiscreet conversations, of which I was ignorant, and which had been held by the pilot and the sailors with some slaves of their nation who had been seized on the Kouban, and were living at Ghélendjik under various masters, increased their suspicions. The interpreter managed to strengthen their distrust by hinting, that the carpenters who were sent to cut down timber were people employed by the government. Instead of making the Tcherkesses feel how very advantageous commercial relations with us might be to them, this imprudent conduct gave rise to reflections amongst the natives, which led us to despair of the success of our undertakings.

"We have never known the Russians," say they; "but with arms in their hands; and that nation has always shown the greatest desire to take possession

of our territory. Our valour, assisted by the power of the Sultan, has fortunately opposed their designs, and forced them to restore to us in 1812 what they took away from us *. But notwithstanding the dangers to which we were exposed by the introduction of such formidable enemies, we nevertheless consented that they should enjoy the sacred right of hospitality, and that one of their vessels † should approach Pchiate under the direction of Scassi, a merchant known to us for several years, who took in a cargo of wood for building, in exchange for salt. This man promised to provide for all our wants by an advantageous commerce; but, far from thinking of our happiness, he who had received under our roofs bread and salt, has promised Russia to accomplish the ruin of our independence, and in order to succeed in this, he daily augments the number of his agents upon our coasts, which he causes to be visited by soldiers; and we doubt not, but that commerce is the means which you employ in order to sow discord among our princes, and to form establishments, which, in case of need, you will change into fortresses."

* Anapa, and the little fort of Soudjouk-kalé.

† The transport, the "Danube."

All these discourses may very easily have been prompted by the Pacha of Anapa to these people, who are by no means deficient in penetration and intellect.

May 9.—In consequence of what I had learnt the preceding day, I gave orders that the boat should not go too far away from the schooner, as it happened sometimes in our excursions, unless there should be a Circassian in it.

My title of Frenchman, however, dispelled the worst suspicions; many Circassians came every day on board, and often even to dinner. One of them, whom I had not yet seen, and who that day made his first appearance, rejoiced in having made my acquaintance, and begged me to go and visit him in the afternoon. The frankness of his manner pleased me, and I went to him at the appointed hour. He was a noble, belonging to the suite of an absent prince, the brother of Kochmite, and called Atiokhäi.

The situation of his residence is fine, two musket-shots' length from the sea, surrounded by the prettiest English garden, and by a charming wood. It was late; refreshments were brought to us with the usual ceremonies. Already *au fait* in Circassian customs, we were more at our ease, and the gay character of

our host amused us infinitely. I found the dishes exceedingly palatable, although swimming, as in the former dinner, in butter and honey. At eight o'clock in the evening we separated, the best friends in the world, promising to see each other often.

The Circassians are divided into three classes: the first is that of the princes, who are regarded as the magistrates of the country, and whose power depends upon the number of their vassals, relations, and allies, whom they can arm in their incursions, or in defending themselves against their neighbours. Their daughters often transmit the principality to their husbands, but it is inferior to that acquired by military exploits.

[* Equal to the rest of the nation, the desire of bringing it into subjection is an idea unknown to them. A young prince who in battle will show all the pride of his rank, will not dare to sit down in presence of an old man, without obtaining permission to do so. The only prerogatives they possess, consist in the division of the spoil taken from the enemy, and in the duties which they levy on the ships which come to trade upon their coasts. One half belongs to

* This artful passage is an addition inserted by the Russian editor.

them, and is divided amongst those who have accompanied them in the military expeditions, or who inhabit the places in their dependency which have been selected by strangers for the establishment of a market of exchange.

There are two kinds of princes, the *Khanouks*, who are not very numerous, and the *Pchis*].

The second class is composed of nobles, some of whom become very powerful by allying themselves with numerous families [and bear the title of *Vorks* or *Usdenes*; they are allowed, as well as the princes, to wear red shoes].

The vassals, very much in the same manner as those who existed in Europe in the feudal ages, live from father to son in dependence under a prince whose fields they cultivate in time of peace, and whom they defend in time of war. Each of them possesses some land and some cattle, over which the prince has no right: he has none likewise over the vassal himself, nor over his family, which, if they should be discontented, are free to go and fix themselves elsewhere. It is only by his right of punishment that the prince can sell them, and in such a case the affair must be judged by an assembly.

These classes differ but little in dress, and in

their domestic habits, the most perfect equality reigns amongst them.

We may add to these a fourth class; viz., the captives made slaves in their excursions, whom they either sell to the Turks, or keep amongst themselves: their children in general all become vassals. I think the number of Russians included in this last class may be estimated at about 3000.

[*All strangers who fall into their hands, having no Konak, form likewise a part of this class; they are treated with humanity.]

It is difficult to imagine how these people, who have slaves themselves, and to whom liberty is the first of blessings, can persuade themselves to sell their children. A father has this right over his offspring; a brother over a sister, when deprived of their parents; and a husband also can sell his wife if she be guilty of adultery. To be sold is often the sole wish of a pretty girl, because she is then certain of filling a place in a Turkish harem, which they prefer to their Circassian mode of life. It is no rare occurrence to see some of them return to their country after having obtained their liberty. The accounts which they bring back of the joys of these voluptuous prisons,

* This is added in the Russian translation.

and the sight of the presents with which they return, suffice to determine the fate of many, who request to be sold. Few of the princes, however, sell their children.

May 10.—A Circassian whom I had induced to accompany me, nearly fell into the sea whilst placing his foot on the ladder; but I fortunately caught him in time. M. Tausch congratulated me on the subject, and told me, that had he been drowned, I should have been forced to pay the value of him to his relations, who would no doubt have obliged me to do so. The astonishment I expressed at this extraordinary way of judging induced him to relate various anecdotes upon which this people found such a proceeding, and which are cited as examples of the greatest justice.

Two Circassians possessed some lands in common, upon which grew a tree which was stripped of its bark by one of the two proprietors: he soon after ceded his share to his companion, and went to reside in another district: the tree withered, and in order to bring it to the ground the proprietor set fire to it; whilst it was burning, a man wishing to approach in order to light his pipe, was crushed by its fall. The family of the deceased attacked the proprietor, and

demanded of him the price of the man whose death he had caused. The practice was an established one: it seemed as if he could have nothing to oppose to it, when, convoking an assembly, he proved that having only set fire to the tree because it was dead, the former proprietor ought to be condemned to make the payment, because the thing would not have happened if it had still preserved its bark. The whole assembly applauded him, and decided the cause in his favour.

A prince seeing a goat in his field, gave orders to his vassal to drive it away; the latter having broken its leg with a blow of a stone, wrapped it up in a piece of cloth. The animal returning to his master, went too near the chimney, and set fire to the bandage: the pain which this occasioned made him run away over a field of wheat belonging to the house, to which the flame was communicated, and the wheat was soon consumed. The cause was tried, and the prince who had given the order was obliged to pay all the damages.

A sportsman having fired at a fox, which, in escaping, dispersed a flock of geese; the latter, in their noisy flight, frightened a horse, which threw and killed its rider. The relations of the deceased cited the master of the horse before the old men: he easily

justified himself by stating the cause which had rendered his horse ungovernable: the master of the geese was then summoned, who proved in his turn that the sportsman had been the cause of this misfortune, and consequently the latter was condemned to pay the fine.

Almost all causes are tried in a similar manner by national assemblies held in a wood, and presided over by princes, and according to a code of ancient customs, which are become laws sacred in the eyes of the Circassians.

[* The equity of their decisions is often admirable towards individuals of the same tribe, and towards their allies, but it relaxes in its strictness towards foreigners, with whom no engagements have been contracted: in this case it proceeds on other grounds, which introduce a new order of things.

Besides these bonds of union which exist between the families of the same tribe, they contract others, in order to establish a certain balance of power in their country, which is opposed to the elevation of a preponderating influence. Each tribe strengthens itself for this purpose by an alliance with another. The oath pronounced by their respective deputies

* Additions in the Russian translation.

obliges them not to injure each other, to render justice reciprocally in discussions between individuals, and to succour each other on all occasions. The person who shall infringe this treaty is punished by a large fine, and in case of a repetition of the offence, he is sold to the Turks as a perjured person and a disturber of the public peace.

The warlike spirit of the Circassians, their dissensions, their contempt for peaceful labours, and their poverty, have rendered theft the sole means of providing for their subsistence, either by directly procuring for them what they want, or else by providing them with the means of paying the Turks for what they bring them.

* This practice is so much esteemed, that the greatest reproach that a young girl can address to a youth is to tell him that he has not yet stolen a cow. Although the compacts of alliance are opposed to theft, the respect that is paid to them is not invariably observed by all those who have formed them; with the exception, however, of the article which refers to the seizure of men, which is only practised amongst enemies. Ordinary thefts skilfully effected, excite

* Here the sense of the original is preserved.

great admiration; individual compacts, or ties of relationship and of hospitality, are the only means of protection against them. The unskilful thief is condemned the first time to restore what he has stolen, and seven times its value, and also to a fine of nine head of large cattle, to satisfy the honour of the injured person, were the theft only that of a fowl.

Murder is punished in the same manner, but in proportion to the circumstances by which it is attended, and to the rank of the murdered person. The old men unite to the office of judge that of mediator, to fix the sum which is to be paid to the relations. It consists in cattle, skins, slaves, arms, and other goods, which the murderer is seldom able to collect without the assistance of his relations and friends.]

Finally, the Circassian laws condemn parricide and unnatural crimes to ignominy.

The 10th of May I went again to dine with a noble, where I discovered an old Russian dragoon, who had been taken prisoner during the reign of Catherine II. on the banks of the Kouban. He had married a Circassian, and had several children by her. His native language had become so strange to him that I

could hardly understand him: [but he remembered the *vodka* (brandy), and begged me to send him some. I hastened to procure him this enjoyment *.]

"(† I now perceive that you are a Frenchman," said our host to me towards the end of dinner: "I doubted the fact when I saw you at the head of those Russians; but the ease with which you fall into our customs, the taste you have for the dishes which we prepare for you, your frankness, everything in short, proves to me how much I have been mistaken. I have seen the Russians at Anapa, at Broughaz, at Ekaterinodar, but disdainful as they are towards us, because they are richer, despising our customs as much as we despise theirs ‡; proud, insulting us within their walls, almost like the Tatars, I have found it impossible to love them;—but if you knew the pleasure it is to me to see a Frenchman!—bring others here, we shall all be delighted; you will instruct us, and you will teach us to do a great many things of which we are ignorant. We know how courageous you are, the fame of your arms has reached us: you are a nation of *dgighid*

* Addition in the Russian.

† This next paragraph is omitted in the Russian edition.

‡ It is to be remarked, that this savage only despised those habits of the Russians which result from civilization.

(brave people). I promise to every man who comes, a horse, and to you a beautiful girl, slight and pliant as a young cypress, and fresh as an apple."

Oh, my native land! wandering far from thy shores, I have more than once felt the influence of thy glory; everywhere it insures respect and protection to all thy children;—to be a Frenchman, were even for those who had abandoned thee, a title to be ever proud of.)

In the evening we went with M. Tausch to the house of a Circassian who had given us a dinner the day before. We saw three strangers arrive, who were received with great respect: they were the *Ataliks* of the sons of Indar Oglou. *Atalik* signifies foster-father.

It is very rare for a boy to receive his education under the parental roof; the right of educating him is granted to the first person who presents himself; and if more than one arrives at the same moment, there are arbiters who determine how long each of them shall instruct the child. The *Atalik* carries off the infant, sometimes secretly, and confides it to a nurse; and, as soon as it can dispense with her care, his education begins. It consists in all bodily exercises adapted to increase the strength and agility; riding, wrestling, shooting with the bow, the gun, or

the pistol, &c.; in the art of conducting an incursion with success; in skill in theft, and in being able to brave hunger and fatigue: they endeavour also to render them eloquent, and to form their judgment, in order to enable them to be influential members of the assemblies. This education, which reminds us of that of the heroic times of Greece, was held in such high estimation by the khans of Tartary, that they used to send their children to be brought up by the *Ataliks* in Circassia. The young man's return to his paternal home is celebrated by a grand fête, to which all the relations are invited, and to which he is brought in triumph. The *Atalik* returns home loaded with presents, and henceforth enjoying in the family of his pupil a degree of relationship, which is always preserved, and which nothing can destroy.

From this solemn day, the custom which forbade the father to see his son, ceases, and he may freely give way to his paternal affection.

The *Ataliks* of the sons of Indar Oglou, whom I had just seen, appeared to enjoy much consideration, as well from the nobility of their birth and their numerous alliances, as for the moral qualities by which they had always been distinguished. I invited them to come and see the ship, and we only separated

in the evening, after having promised each other mutual friendship, and having sealed the compact by some glasses of brandy with which I treated them.

May 11.—It rained all night and a great part of the morning. The Circassians assert that this weather has been prognosticated for some days past by the cries of the jackals. In the afternoon I went to walk with M. Tausch, and wishing to rest at the house of Prince Kochmite, we were received by the wife of the vassal, to whom I had made some presents the day we dined there; she received us with great cordiality, and presented us, with a grace which I was far from being prepared to expect, with a dish of yaourte *, which we ate stretched upon mats under the shade of a walnut-tree.

In returning on board we found a field in which was a cemetery. At small distances from each other we saw on the tombs stones placed at the head in the Turkish style. Two small wooden monuments, of a rude construction, contained the remains of two princes; and some stakes, intended to fasten the horses of the persons who come to assist at the obsequies, or to celebrate their anniversary, were seen at a small distance from this asylum of rest.

* Clotted milk, rather acid, in use among the orientals.

It appears that all the ceremonies in use at the death of a Circassian are confined to songs in his honour, and a funeral oration pronounced over his coffin. His body, entirely sewn up in white cloth, is exposed in a ditch, where a sort of vault is constructed with branches of trees, which are afterwards covered with earth. During a year the bed and arms of the deceased are preserved with the strictest care, in the same place which they occupied when he was alive. His relations and friends, who visit them at certain intervals, must sob and beat their breasts: the widow also shows signs of the most violent despair.

Not far from the cemetery which we had just seen, and to the left of the warehouses, is a battery, constructed several years ago by the Turks, who have left there an iron 24-pounder without any carriage, the mouth of which is carefully covered with a flat plate by the Circassians.

Knowing that prince Mehmet was to arrive this evening, M. Tausch waited for him till nine o'clock, in order to pave the way for our interview. On his return the prince sent his compliments to me, inviting me to come on shore early on the following morning.

May 12.—At six o'clock we went to meet him at the warehouses, whither he came, attended by two of

his sons, Noghaï and Islam-Ghéri, as well as by several other Circassians. Our Commissioner Moudrov was of the number.

Mehmet Indar Oglou is tall, hard-featured, and, though sixty-five years old, appears still very robust. In his whole person we perceive the noble simplicity of our ancient knights; his erect carriage and the sound of his voice seem to announce a man formed for command. Noghaï, his eldest son, is what his father must have been at thirty years of age; his figure and pace are those of Mars, and he enjoys a great reputation for valour. His brother, Islam-Ghéri, whom I had seen in the Crimea when he was brought thither by M. Scassi, in the transport the "Danube," is not so striking in his appearance, but he has gained the esteem of his countrymen by his wisdom.

[Mehmet Indar Oglou is the chief of one of the two families, who at a very distant period placed themselves at the head of the tribe of *Noutachaitsi*. It bears the name of *Soupa Koua*, and is divided into thirty-three branches; that of which Indar Oglou forms a part, is called Kiriakine, and its distinctive mark is the figure of a Russian T (⊤), which they use on their harness. These marks, called by the Russians Tavrò, are made on the thighs of their horses

with a hot iron. They form a sort of device in Circassia and among the Tatars. I have seen that of Indar Oglou engraved on the hilt of a sabre which belonged to him *.]

After having been presented to them, and having offered our hands to each other in sign of friendship, I invited them to breakfast on board the schooner. They came thither; but, being in haste to prosecute their route towards Pchiate, they soon left us, in spite of a heavy rain, for which they offered their thanks to us, pretending that we had brought good fortune to their fields which were suffering from drought. I gave them a salute of several guns, and followed Indar Oglou on shore, to ask him what course I was to follow under existing circumstances. He advised me to sail for Pchiate, assuring me that the affair of Moudrov would soon be arranged, and that I might besides rely upon his friendship, and upon the wish he had to see our establishments prosper. My project of profiting by the prohibition to the Turks to frequent this coast pleased him much. He confirmed me in the resolution which I had made, to ask M. Scassi for a cargo composed of all those kinds of merchandise which the former used to bring here, and to hasten the

* Added in the Russian translation.

execution of a project which must, said he, earn for us the title of benefactors of his country. He left with me on his departure a confidential person, whom I forthwith sent to the quarantine of Boughaz with a letter for M. Scassi.

I had nothing further to do than to set sail, and I weighed anchor at two P.M., profiting by a fresh wind from the east, which soon enabled us to double the point of Tliouvieusse. I steered towards Cape Abetsai, to the S.S.E., passing about three miles from Mézip, which is in a creek four miles from the entrance of the port of Ghélendjik. Off the Cape of Abetsai the wind became contrary: we steered along the coast as far as we could manage to do so, notwithstanding the heavy squalls which came from thence every moment. Opposite the valley of *Tchiangloti* I lowered the jib, took in our little fore-topsail, and a reef in the topsail. The current, which flowed strongly towards the north, retarded our progress considerably. We left behind us a second cape, called *Itokopâskhe*, about three miles distant from Abetsai, in order to avoid a bank of rocks which M. Tausch, who was with me, told me were concealed under the water towards the south. From Abetsai the coast is perpendicular, and remarkable for the steep shores, formed by the rolling down of rocks

from mountains which are constantly undermined by the sea, and which, from being white, as they are as far as the environs of Mézip, assume there a reddish tint, which they preserve uninterruptedly as far as Mingrelia. From the Cape Itokopâskhe we discovered the anchorage of Pchiate, from which we were at most not more than four miles distant; but the shore, which curves in very much towards the S.E., rendered the east wind contrary to us. It blew very fresh, the cape bore S.S.E., and, as we drifted considerably with the currents, we resolved to anchor in twenty-five fathoms, about two miles from the shore, and three from Pchiate. The wind continued fresh all night.

May 13.—A light rain in the morning appeared to indicate a change; and about one P.M., I raised the anchor, but soon after it again blew strongly from the east. I tried to beat to windward, but the current carried us so rapidly towards the north, that we were forced to anchor again opposite the valley of *Neukheupche*, at about a mile to windward of our first station, in nineteen fathoms. The wind blew strong all night.

May 14.—The weather to-day was terrible, the surf sometimes broke over the schooner, though we were at a short distance from the shore. The sky

was serene, but clouds, which seemed immoveable on the summits of the mountains, forewarned us of an increase of the storm. Towards noon, in fact, we were forced to let go a second anchor, and, at four o'clock in the evening, to lower our main-topmast. During the night, however, the wind subsided, and as it became afterwards quite calm, I prepared every thing, in order to profit by the first favourable breeze which should spring up.

May 15. — At 5 P.M. a breeze from E. N. E. allowed us to set sail, and carried us to Pchiate, where I anchored at 8 P.M. in eight fathom and a half, on a mud-bottom. Some gun and pistol-shots from the shore announced our arrival in the roadstead: I replied by firing a gun, the sound of which reverberated far in the mountains.

Some of the people of Indar Oglou immediately came off in a boat to inform us on the part of this prince, that the affair of Moudrov had arrayed a great many of the inhabitants in arms against us; that they had even burnt one of his houses, and that in considering the hostile projects which they entertained against us, he advised us not to disembark, and to remain all night on the watch, ready to fire upon the first boat that should approach.

May 16.—The following day, at six o'clock, he sent to inform us of his arrival, and soon after we saw a numerous suite appear, who fired some pistol-shots, a signal agreed upon between us. I immediately went on shore, where the sons of our Konak made me mount on horseback to pass a river which crosses the shore in a slanting direction. After going a short distance, we arrived at the place where the warehouses are situated. I there found the prince, who begged me not to leave him, for the affair being serious, I might otherwise incur some risk.

Several of the inhabitants of Pchiate beheld us with pleasure, and *did their utmost, in concert with Indar-Oglou, to induce their countrymen to receive us; but those who were united by the ties of blood, of friendship, or of interest, to the parents of the girl who had been carried off, either to avenge the honour of the family, or else from enmity to the Russians, would not consent to admit us into their country to exchange our merchandise, excepting on condition that the girl should be restored with a sum proportioned to the insult offered to her. In an assembly convened on this subject, our Konak strongly opposed the first demand. ("*How," said he, "shall I de-

* This is omitted in the Russian edition.

grade myself by the most shameful weakness, to such a degree as to betray the duties imposed upon me in my quality of Konak! Shall I suffer my guests to be exposed to insults from which my support ought to protect them? No! I will never authorize an action which may make them doubt the sincerity of my protection. Moudrov is united to one who will form the happiness of his life, and henceforth it is impossible to sever them.")

These discussions were very curious to Europeans accustomed to behold authority in the interior of vast edifices, borrowing from art an imposing aspect. Here, a wood is the place of assembly, the prince is surrounded by a circle of attentive men, who silently wait their turn to speak. Neither age nor rank influence this choice; it is always given to those who are distinguished among their citizens by their virtues and eloquence.

The result of the deliberation was more favourable to us than we had expected. After a long debate, permission was obtained towards the evening to land some iron, of which they seemed to be in want. The prince gave us on parting several persons to accompany us as far as the boat, and one of them came on board to sleep.

We sent early on shore a boat laden with iron, under the escort of a man, who on his return informed me that the prince ordered the unlading to be discontinued, and begged me to come to see him. I went there, dressed in the costume of the country. My Circassian friends were charmed with this, and congratulated themselves that they might count a Frenchman amongst them. However, our affairs had again taken a bad turn: Indar Oglou told me that he was accused of wishing to favour the entrance of the Russians into Circassia, and that I was only come with a crew of that nation, in order to examine the shore, and to judge what points were the most easily to be attacked, in order to seize them on the first declaration of war with Turkey, and that then his son Noghaï would place himself at the head of a corps, whilst the fortifications to be constructed at Ghélendjik and Pchiate would protect him.

The conferences were very animated. Noghaï was walking about, foaming with rage, and ready to wash out in blood the outrage which had been offered to him. We expected every moment to see our warehouses set on fire, and to be obliged to withdraw to the sea-shore, making our way through these fierce

mountaineers*, whom I have always believed to be excited against us by the Pacha of Anapa. His conduct on various occasions has given me reason to suspect him, and I cannot otherwise account for the journey made at that time by a *Bairaktar* (Turkish ensign) in this valley.

The prince sent me again on board. M. Tausch remained alone with him, in order to inform us in the evening of what might concern us. At eight o'clock he told me, that with the utmost difficulty he had again obtained permission to unlade our merchandise; but that before I began I must have another conversation with the prince.

May 18.—As soon as the signal was given I went on shore. The Circassians now demanded from us an import duty, which was not fixed, and was only to be arranged in a general assembly. Though this had never been done before, it was necessary to submit to it, as it seemed to be the only means of accommodating matters, and I hired some Circassian boats for the purpose of unlading the schooner.

The work had proceeded two hours, when the inhabitants assembled again to demand that our Konak should become our guarantee for all that we

* In the original, this expression is "proud republicans."

might do during our residence there, as well as for the import duties. He consented to do so, and we passed the rest of the day in endeavours to organize our affairs as securely as possible.

May 19.—Two boats worked at unloading the ship, and Indar Oglou, who came to see us with his sons, gave us three confidential people as our guard, recommending us not to absent ourselves from them.

This prince took the greatest interest in all that concerned us, and our affairs gave him much trouble. The sacred feeling which he attaches to hospitality inspired me with admiration; and it is certain that no member of the family of Indar Oglou, and none of his vassals, would have hesitated to risk their lives for us. A stranger, if he be even guilty, finds in his Konak a protector who will never give him up to the fury of his countrymen. Moudrov is a striking example of this.

Noghaï came on board: we gave him a salute of several guns, some of which, loaded with canister-shot, agreeably surprised him; and I made him a present of my sabre, which seemed to please him.

(After what had passed, I might have expected that the pilot would have been rather more circumspect; but what was my surprise, when, towards the evening, on going on shore, I saw him there with a

musket in his hand, commanding and exercising in the Russian fashion, in the midst of a numerous circle of Tcherkesses, amongst whom were the sons of Prince Mehmet. M. Tausch and I in vain ordered him to cease; he seemed even to insist upon it. Indignation was immediately depicted on many countenances, and an inhabitant of the valley said, showing me a sabre, that at the first signal it would be useful in killing the Russians * * * * * *. That too much discrimination could not be employed in the choice of agents, when it was a question of altering the opinion entertained by one nation of another, and that they are often of greater importance than those under whose orders they act*.)

[Our market of exchange consisted of two warehouses of only thirty-six feet long by four feet high, built of hurdles, barely covered with clay, and very much resembling large panniers covered with a thatched roof. They contained nothing but salt: one of them had been full of salt for more than a year. I asked M. Tausch whether the establishment had nothing else; he replied in the negative, and that we should find nothing to make up a cargo, because, with salt alone, without other articles of necessity

* Omitted in the Russian edition.

which the Circassians seek at Anapa, it is very difficult to procure the productions of the country. I resolved to take fire-wood in ballast: there is a demand for it at Kertche, and it can be collected at little expense on the shore of Pchiate.

It had been said in the Crimea, and some wag, no doubt, had made the pilot believe, that M. Scassi had a palace at Pchiate: this officer was much surprised to learn that not only there was none, but that the Circassians would oppose every kind of building on our part, and that the warehouses were supposed to belong to Indar Oglou*.]

May 20.—Prince Mehmet, who came to invite us to dinner on the next day, gave me a letter from M. Scassi, which he had had written in Turkish by a man who had been established a long time in the valley of *Neukheupche.*

The Circassians have no idea of writing. Certain epochs in their history are consecrated by songs and by some old traditions, for the most part fabulous. In business they only make use of witnesses, or of an oath taken over some amulets, which, among them, (where intrigue is unknown†,) suffices to cause the

* This is added in the Russian edition.

† Omitted in the Russian edition.

engagements which have been contracted to be scrupulously observed. Their relations being confined within a narrow sphere, they are seldom obliged to communicate their thoughts otherwise than by words; and when they are forced to do so, they send a messenger. Some Turks who are settled at Anapa, or in the interior of the country, are the only literati. The Circassians appear, however, to feel how useful writing would be to them. The different marks of their harness gave me the idea of forming an alphabet, by using these signs for the initials of each proprietor: there are about thirty-six of them. Perhaps it would be better to make them acquainted with the Latin characters now adopted generally in Europe, and which might suffice, in the hands of a skilful man, for every sound: [but *why not adopt the Russian alphabet?* for three Latin letters hardly suffice to form the ч cha, and five the щ, stcha, which we frequently meet with in the Circassian language. As to the γ and the χ, it is impossible to express them by the Latin letters gh and kh*.]

Towards evening we ventured to take a walk in a sacred wood at a small distance from the shore. A cross, rudely made, the upper part of which is of the

* Russian edition.

form of the trefoil, consecrates this spot to religion, and no one would dare to cut down trees, nor even to touch anything placed there. The sign of Christianity preserved there has been transmitted to them from their ancestors; they know not what it represents. The Turks have only told them that a great prophet, being on the point of being killed in a bath, some angels came to the window to tell him to pass through it, in order to save himself; and that then, touching his forehead, he said his head was too large, but that the former having told him it was not so, he then showed his stomach and shoulders, as obstacles to his escape, and that it was of these signs that the cross was made. They assemble before it on certain days of the year marked by solemn festivals.

[*The worship of the Circassians is the mechanical exercise of a number of Pagan and Christian ceremonies, perverted by time and ignorance. There is nothing certain with regard to the period when Christianity was introduced into the Caucasus, and by whom it was preached to the idolatrous people. A very general idea attributes this sort of apostleship to some crusaders who had escaped from the disasters of their expedition to the Holy Land. The

* Addition in the Russian.

little tribe of *Khevsour*, situated in the Caucasus near the *Ossétinians*, bear on their garments Maltese crosses in red cloth, and they have them painted in the same colour on their iron bucklers. French names are likewise remarked amongst them, such as Devilète, Guillot, &c. * It is said, too, that the seeds of Christianity were implanted among the Circassians by St. Andrew; which opinion is founded upon some crosses which have been found in the Caucasus, of a form similar to those to which we give the name of this apostle.

[At the commencement of the fourth century, in the time of Constantine the Great, a woman, called Nona or Nina, introduced Christianity into Georgia, and probably into a great part of Circassia. She converted the people by miraculous cures, and had a cross of vine branches tied with her own hair. In 1720, this cross was, for fear of the Turks, carried into the mountains, and subsequently sent to a Czarewitche at Moscow. The emperor Alexander sent it back to Georgia. It is certain that in the thirteenth century another woman, named Tamara, a great queen

* I owe this information to M. Hany, major of engineers, who is, perhaps, the sole European who has visited the Khevsours, and where his title of Frenchman gained him admittance.

of Georgia, caused churches to be built amongst the Ossétinians, and perhaps elsewhere in the Caucasus *.]

The Genoese must also have contributed to propagate Christianity on the Circassian coast, if they had establishments there, as is generally supposed, but of which there are no remains at the present day.

Whatever may have been the origin of Christianity in Circassia, it is to be presumed that its progress could not have been sufficiently consolidated amongst a people who have no writing to prevent it from retrograding towards the primitive worship of the inhabitants, and becoming mixed with it, as soon as it is deprived of the co-operation of the Georgian sovereigns, or of the Christians of the Crimea. Since the conquests of Mahomet II., the Tatars and Turks preach Mahometanism to the Circassians, and have many proselytes amongst the great families: and this religion undoubtedly makes considerable progress, the worship of the Circassians being founded on a sufficiently solid basis to resist the shock of a religion presented to them by a conquering people. But Mahometanism in itself will but increase the religious

* Addition in the Russian.

doubts of the greater part of these savages, and add to the chaos of their worship.

In my two voyages I have remarked, that the Circassian Mahometans are very indifferent to their religion. I have seen the sons and daughters of Prince Mehmet joking among themselves in the midst of the ceremonies used in their prayers. There were even some who paid no attention to them. The sight of a small cross worn by a lady, who subsequently accompanied me to Circassia, afforded this family great pleasure; and they observed that the Circassians have the same symbol. In fact, those who profess Mahometanism attend the religious ceremonies of the country.

One of them told me that all the Ghiaours had been exterminated by the Mahometans, who, having arrived among the Abáses, found them in the sacred wood, surrounded with small tables covered with the viands of a religious festival, and that none could penetrate into the circle formed by them, in order to put them to death.

The Circassians acknowledge a Supreme Being and several celestial powers of a secondary order. They believe in the immortality of the soul and in

another world, in which men are to be rewarded according to their works; but careless about such a future state: all their actions have temporal prospects immediately in view.

Merissa or *Méréime*, surnamed the Mother of God, is the protectress of bees. The Circassians say that the thunder in its wrath would have exterminated them all, but that this holy woman concealed one of them in her sleeve, by which means the species was preserved. The festival is celebrated in the month of September. The Circassians regale themselves on that occasion with viands and beverages, prepared with honey. I think the etymology of the name of this divinity is *Melissa*. It is not extraordinary that in a country where honey is one of the chief articles of nourishment among the inhabitants, a protectress should have been given to the insect which produces it. The Greeks call the bee *Melissa*—*Mérissa* may very well have been originally a *Dimatra* (Ceres), whose name and worship are now disfigured and confounded with those of the Virgin Mary.

[**Séozérès* was a great navigator, to whom the winds and waves were subject. He is especially venerated by those who live by the sea-side. He is represented

* Addition in the Russian edition.

by a dry pear-tree, on which only a few remnants of branches have been left. Each family preserves one for this purpose in the court of its house: no one touches it excepting on the fête day of this divinity, which takes place in the Spring. This tree is the emblem of Séozérès; it is plunged into water, and washed; a cheese is fastened to its summit, and it is adorned with as many little tapers as there are guests assembled. As soon as it is thus decorated, several persons go to take it to introduce it in full ceremony into the house. The rest of the company wait at the door to receive it, and to compliment it on its happy arrival. Its entrance is preceded by a sacrifice and preparations for a grand festival. They eat and drink during three days at intervals, praying Séozérès to prevent the winds and waves from committing ravages. When this period of feasting is past, the cheese and other viands are distributed among the guests, and the tree is carried back to its place; the whole society accompany it, wishing the god a happy voyage, and he is then forgotten till next year. He is also the protector of the flocks, and has two brothers. His long voyage, his power, the form of his emblem, which resembles an enormous club, might induce the belief that this divinity was a Hercules. The devotion which the tribes on the shores

of the Black Sea paid to Achilles might likewise lead one to suspect some affinity with the worship paid to that hero, surnamed *Pontarkhos*, chief or protector of the sea. But the true origin of Séozérès is most probably the *Akhaikoros* or *Akikaros*, Ἀχαίκορος or Ἀκίκαρος, mentioned by Strabo in his Geography, (Book xvi. page 762) as revered by the inhabitants of the Bosphorus, equally with the *Zamolxis* of the Getæ; and who, according to Lucian, was revered by the Scythians and Persians as a sacred object, and even as a divinity, under the title of *Akinaki* or *Akiraki**.

Tlièbse, king and protector of forges. On his fête-day libations are made in honour of him on a hatchet and plough. *Naokhatche*, *Skuska*, *Yémiche*, and *Mésté* are other saints or demi-gods, who have also days consecrated to them.

The Circassians hold in great veneration three

* There is a surprising resemblance between the ceremonies in use in Circassia, in honour of Séozérès, and those which distinguish the fête of St. John in the ancient Polish provinces: a tree is planted there in a square, and crowns, garlands of flowers, and tapers are attached to its branches; several young people of both sexes rejoice round it, dance, sing, and amuse themselves until very late in the night, until, exhausted with fatigue, they terminate their rejoicings, throwing themselves with fury on the tree to destroy it: the next morning all the pieces they have carried off are put into the barrels of salted cucumbers prepared for the winter, under the idea that they will preserve them.

sisters, who preside over domestic harmony and concord between neighbours, and who defend the traveller with their protecting shield. Whoever changes his abode makes a sacrifice to them on arriving at his new domicile, and the traveller who takes a journey does the same on setting out. The similarity between these three sisters, the Penates, and the Guardian Angels, are a new proof of the mixture of creeds which compose the religion of the Circassians.]

Towards the end of the October moon, they celebrate the commemoration of the dead: this epoch of recollections is marked by prayers, which each separate family addresses to the celestial powers, in order that they may not allow them to stand in need of anything in the eternal regions.

[*The Circassians have no god of thunder—but it might be erroneous to assert that they never have had one. Thunder is held in great veneration amongst them: they assert that lightning is an angel that strikes those who are distinguished by the benediction of the Creator: the body of a person who has been killed by lightning is solemnly interred; and whilst they weep for the deceased, the relations rejoice in the distinction conferred upon their family. These people come out

* Added in the Russian edition.

in crowds from their houses at the noise made by this angel in his aërial course, and when some time has elapsed without his having been heard, public prayers are offered up that he may return to visit them. Thanksgivings are made for the rains which have attended it, and for its having refreshed and purified the air during the heats of summer.

The new year, which occurs about the same time as ours, and the renewal of the labours of the field which ensues, are also two fête-days: but the most solemn is that of Easter; the ceremonies by which it is accompanied, and the time when it is celebrated, leave no doubt of its origin. From the commencement of the March moon they abstain from eating eggs, as well as from hiring, lending, borrowing, or receiving anything; they do not even procure a light from their neighbours' houses. The festival takes place at the end of this moon and the custom which obliges every one to spend it at home would make it tedious enough, if every one were to celebrate it on the same day; for this reason, each province chooses a different one. It is announced very early in the morning, from the principal habitation, by the report of fire-arms: the neighbours run thither, and adjourn to the sacred wood, in order to commence the solemnity by the usual

ceremonies of religion; but on this occasion the number of victims which are sacrificed is proportioned to the number of the guests, and to these are added all the eggs which have been preserved during the time of Lent, which they have kept during the March moon. The festival ends by firing with a musket—an egg is the mark—and the skins of the victims are the reward of success.]

It belongs to age and to the virtuous to offer up the prayers of the nation to the throne of the Most High. The priests do not form a separate class in Circassia. In their youth they have been seen to shed their blood in battle, and the approach of the enemy still calls them to arms. They officiate with bare heads, clothed in a *Bourka;* and standing before the cross, they commence by the propitiatory sacrifice of a sheep or a goat—in great solemnities the victim is an ox: before sacrificing it, the old man, with one of the small tapers attached to the foot of the cross, burns some of the hair of the victim on the spot where the blow is to be struck, and pours some *Bouza* on its head. Several young people, chiefly slaves, stand behind him, bearing cups filled with this liquor, and slices of unleavened bread stuffed with cheese. After the sacrifice, the old man takes one of these cups and

some bread to make an offering to the Supreme Being: he then blesses them, and gives them to the eldest of the society, who eats and drinks of them. The young people present him with some more, of which he makes an offering to *Merissa*, and which he gives to another old man. The same ceremony is repeated to all the divinities, to whom different prayers are addressed. After having concluded them, the minister fixes, according to his own pleasure, a day for another meeting, which generally takes place once a week—either Saturday, Sunday, Monday, or Tuesday, and never on any of the three other days: he also gives notice of the effects which have been lost or found; but the latter are seldom heard of, for the Circassians are fond of keeping them. Finally, the flesh of the victim serves as a repast, to which are added some other provisions brought by each family, and the whole is generally concluded with dances, games, and races: the head of the victim is consecrated to the Creator, and placed on the branch of a tree, or on a perch at a small distance from the cross: its skin belongs to the officiating priest.

[*When we examine attentively the nature of

* Added in the Russian edition.

these ceremonies, we cannot but recognise idolatry *, and a faint resemblance to the mysteries of Christianity, which, confounded together, have formed a religion, the fruit of the ignorance of these people. Besides these weekly festivals, as I have above stated, those of the secondary divinities are celebrated at stated times. It is singular to see those of the inhabitants who profess Mahometanism evincing great respect for them, and assisting at them.

The beauty of the spot, the silence which reigned in the forest, the pious and simple worship offered by these people to the Creator in this temple—the work of Nature—inspired me with a feeling which I had never before experienced, and gave birth to a crowd of reflections to which I abandoned myself entirely during the remainder of my walk.] M. Tausch

[* It is curious to compare them with those of remote antiquity, of which we find an account in the Third Book of the Odyssey. Stratius and the noble Echephron lead the bellowing animal by the horns; Aretus comes forth from the palace, bearing in one hand the carved vase filled with sparkling water, and in the other the pure flour of the sacred barley. Armed with the sharp axe, the warlike Thrasimedes stands ready to strike the victim: Perseus prepares to receive the blood in the deep urn. Old Nestor, after having thrown over the heifer the sparkling water and the sacred barley, addresses a great many prayers to Minerva, and commences by throwing into the flames the hair plucked from the forehead of the victim.]

stopped me at the door of the habitation of one of his friends, where we entered. He was absent. We were received by his wife and his sister-in-law, who offered us a dish prepared with milk, and only consented to be seated after long entreaties. The husband returned in about an hour, and requested us to enter his apartment, which we immediately did, in order not to inspire him with any distrust with regard to the object of our visit, which the amiability of our hostess made me desirous of repeating.

I have already stated, that a Circassian can only see his wife at night: if they should by chance meet during the day, they immediately retreat in opposite directions. A practice so propitious to love made me think that it must leave the women a prey to seduction, and I inquired what would be the risk incurred in case of surprise. It is limited to paying a sum proportioned to the injury offered to the husband. The latter does not dare to attempt the life of his rival, as he would then be forced to pay the forfeit of his death to the relations. The punishment of the women is to be beaten or sold: some husbands are even barbarous enough to cut off their noses or ears; but few among them are guilty of such excesses, which likewise oblige them to pay a forfeit, which the family

have a right to claim, either more or less considerable, according to the extent of the injury.

May 21.—M. Tausch, the pilot, and I, mounted our horses early, accompanied by several Circassians, in order to go to Prince Mehmet's house; his son, Islam Gheri, had come to meet us. We followed the banks of the river which waters the fine valley of Pchiate, surrounded with very woody mountains, on the slopes of which we perceived some properties inclosed by palisadoes, and seldom composed of more than five or six houses. The lands appeared to be tolerably well cultivated; and even in the midst of the forest we saw fields that had been cleared by means of fire, and sown with corn. The view is bounded on the north by a long chain of mountains, which forms part of the Caucasus: it is there that the Chapsoukes live. At about the distance of a league from the sea the valley becomes wider, and it appears as if the bed of the river must spread considerably in the rainy season.

Having traversed nearly three leagues, we alighted at the residence of Indar Oglou: he came to receive us with his son Noghaï at the entrance of his court-yard, and conducted us into the strangers' apartment, whose walls were adorned with sabres, daggers, bows,

arrows, pistols, muskets, helmets, and several coats of mail. Our arms were laid aside on our entrance, after which he made us sit down. The princes, as well as the other Circassians, remained standing. After some conversation they brought us water to wash our hands; and soon after, dinner was served upon fifteen little tables, which succeeded each other as soon as we had tasted the dishes upon each. I dined with the pilot and our two commissioners, whom I had intreated to sit down with us, in spite of its being contrary to the Circassian custom, for they were supposed to form part of the family of Indar Oglou. I desired him to tell this prince how much it grieved me not to dine with him: he replied, that this was an affair of etiquette; but that he soon hoped to see me comprised in the number of his family, and that then he would act more freely towards me. I intreated he would be convinced of the friendship with which he had inspired me, and that he would regard me henceforth as his own son. We then drank to each other's health, some glasses of brandy, and he had the viands from our table served up to him.

In the afternoon I asked his permission to present my respects to his wife: he granted it, and, whilst she was preparing for our reception, we went over

the residence, which is of a similar description to those which I had already seen, composed of a dozen houses constructed of hurdles, or of small beams plastered with earth, and roofed with thatch. They are never composed of more than one room, and serve to lodge the families of the prince, the nobles, and the vassals employed by him. This residence is surrounded by slight palisades, and is situated at the foot of a hill, on an elbow formed by the river, on the banks of which are a fruit garden and a plantation of flax and maize. A very thick copse behind the houses serves to conceal the women, the children, and the cattle, whenever a hostile tribe makes an incursion into the country.

In every house, everything necessary is manufactured by its inmates. The women are more especially engaged in manufacturing cloth of a transparent quality, which resembles flannel; *bourkas*, saddle-cushions, linen, coats, shoes, lace, sabres, musket and pistol-scabbards. Like Homer's princesses*, those of Circassia are not exempt from these labours,

> " Your widow'd hours apart, with female toil
> And various labours of the loom, beguile;
> There rule, from palace-cares remote and free."
>
> Od. Book I. *Telemachus to Penelope.*

in which they glory to distinguish themselves above their vassals. The men work as carpenters, in mounting muskets, making cannon-balls, manufacturing tolerably good gunpowder, and in tanning skins very imperfectly, by rubbing them between two pieces of box-wood. The forge and the jewellery line are the only trades which belong to a small number of workmen: in the former trade they make knives, axes, and nails; the greater part of the iron of their arrows, and of the beautiful poniards which they use, is the work of a distant tribe called *Koumouk*. The jewellers ornament the arms, the powder-flasks, and the girdles with silver. It is difficult to form an idea of the perfection to which this kind of work is carried, and the beauty and correctness of the design represented in black by means of an acid. They generally procure from the Turks musket and pistol-barrels, and sabres, which they mount after their own fashion. I have seen many of these arms of European fabric; amongst others, sabres which are for the most part Venetian or Genoese: besides those with which they are supplied by commerce, they have some very old ones, mostly found in the tombs. We may judge of the length of time that they have been used by the diminution of the width, which is often one-third less.

Their helmets, coats of mail, and bows, are brought to them from Persia and Constantinople: they purchase but few, and those that they possess descend from father to son in families, of whom they form the principal inheritance; the number of them may be estimated at 20,000.

At the expiration of an hour we were admitted to see the princess. M. Tausch, whom I followed, told me to imitate him in everything he did, in order not to fail in etiquette towards the fair sex.

On our entrance all the women rose: we walked in file along the wall, on the opposite side to them, with a firm but slow step, allowing our sleeves to hang down at full length, in order to show our respect. We saluted them by touching our caps with great gravity with our right hands. As soon as we were seated the princesses resumed their places on the sofa, and about ten women of their suite remained standing. The princess's mother, about fifty years of age, had a handsome and intelligent countenance; she wore a long robe open in front, and clasped from the bosom to the waist like the Turkish *Antéris* *; she wore also a wide charvar † of a striped stuff, and

* A Turkish robe, open in front like our ladies' cloaks.

† Trousers.

on her head a great white veil, which concealed a part of her person. Her hair was hardly perceptible under a handkerchief which concealed it.

The young wives of princes or knights are more particular in their coiffure; they wear under the veil a red calotte ornamented in front with a band of black morocco with silver buttons, which is very becoming to them *, and allow their hair to hang down in long tresses. The busts of the daughters of Indar-Oglou were tightened in an extraordinary manner, and their *antéris* clasped from the throat downwards with silver plates. From the girdle of the eldest were suspended a great number of toys of the same metal; the form of their caps was not graceful; they were composed of six pieces of cloth of different colours, cut in the shape of slices of melons; some lace was arranged on them so as to cover the seams. Girls of an inferior rank wore plain round ones. The two young princesses, without being handsome, had, as it appeared to me, very pleasing countenances: the eldest is named Gvacha, and the youngest Tchap-

* This leathern band in the head-dress of the Circassian princesses and nobles is similar to the στλεγγὶς (stlengide), a gilt band of leather, fastened by the Greeks as a diadem on their foreheads.

sine. I forget the meaning of these two names: all those that are given to infants have a signification. I saw two women, one of whom was called Lion-look, and the other Hind-shape.

After the first compliments, the princess questioned me as to what I felt on seeing their country, which was poor, and destitute of all the enjoyments we possessed at home, and which her son Islam Ghéri had often spoken to her about. It has been already mentioned that that young man came to the Crimea in 1814. "I wish him to go back," said she; "he was at that time too young to profit by his travels; and I will confide him to your care as soon as the labours of the harvest and haymaking are at an end. Do not bring him back until he has acquired wisdom: but I fear that he may settle there," continued she, smiling; "for he talked to me so much of the beauty of the women! what do you think of ours?" I took advantage of this opportunity to pay a compliment to her daughters, persuaded that the fair sex is as open to flattery in Circassia as elsewhere, and I astonished her by speaking of the fame of the Circassian women amongst us.

M. Tausch, during this conversation, had approached

one of the princesses, upon whom he leant carelessly: I was surprised at this, and reminded him that he had desired me to imitate him in everything. He replied to my remark, that in a short time I might do as he did. I have, in fact, remarked that in this country great familiarity is used towards the girls. We continued for some time conversing on different subjects, and then took leave of the ladies. The princess's mother extended her hand to me in sign of friendship, and wished me a happy voyage.

Her husband, to whom I had announced that we should be ready to sail on the morrow, promised to come to take leave of me. M. Tausch warned me that this visit was an interesting one, and that I must prepare to make him some presents. The prince had, besides, charged him to ask me for some powder, a gun-carriage, some glasses and plates, sugar, coffee, and tea, to which he had become accustomed.

The Circassians make no scruple of asking for whatever they like; and it would be ridiculous to refuse them, for one has also the right of asking them for whatever they possess. (This community of goods extends so far, that a poor man often gives his rags to a rich one, in order to obtain his coat. I once saw *Noghaï* return without shoes, because he had met a

man on foot who had bad ones, and had asked him for his*)

[This practice, which misery, idleness, and rapacity often cause to degenerate into mendicity, is considered by the Circassians in the light of gifts of friendship, of exchanges, of remembrances made by two persons, in order to retain an agreeable recollection of each other; and it is natural that, towards strangers, they should make it a matter of calculation, as they present to them so many articles of which they are in need†. In my two voyages I was constantly pestered by a crowd of people, who declared themselves my friends, in order to have subsequently a right to ask for a present. They stripped me of a great part of my effects, and of the furniture of the cabin of the schooner‡.]

After the events of this day I shall, no doubt, be asked, what impression the Circassian ladies I had just seen had made upon me? If I had attempted to

* Omitted in the Russian edition.

† "Thou shalt then return delighted on board thy ship, after having received from my hands a precious gift, such as that conferred by a friend on a friend, which, by recalling me to thy mind, will be in thy dwelling a monument of our tenderness."—*Odyssey*, Book i.

‡ Addition in the Russian edition.

judge of these renowned beauties of the East on my first arrival in their country, I should have found it difficult to do so with impartiality, prejudiced as I was by the reputation they enjoyed in Europe; and my excited imagination in a country so fertile in chivalrous inspirations might have led me into error; but having become familiarized with their names, and having had time to examine them, I can assure our European ladies that they are inferior to them in nothing.

The *Noutakhaïtsi* Circassian women have oval faces, and generally large features; their eyes, usually black, are fine; and they hold them in high estimation, considering them as one of their most powerful weapons; they are surmounted by eyebrows which are strongly marked, whose thickness they diminish by plucking out the hairs. Their bust, which, as I have already stated, is wanting in its chief ornament among the girls, is extraordinarily slight and flexible: on the other hand, with many women the lower part of the body is very large, which is considered a great beauty among the orientals, but which I thought a deformity in some of them. We cannot deny that those who are well proportioned have much nobility of carriage and voluptuousness. Their costume,

besides, especially that of the married women, is very pretty. But to admire them, they must only be seen at home; for when they go out, their slow step, and the air of nonchalance expressed in all their movements, shock the eyes of an European accustomed to the vivacity and elegant tournure of our ladies. Even the long hair, which we like to see flowing over the bosom and shoulders of a Circassian; the veil, which they fold with the art inspired in all countries by the wish to please; the robe which, having confined the waist, opens to exhibit the *charvar*, which has also its attractions, become ridiculously embarrassing when a Circassian leaves her sofa. They are, in general, intelligent; their imagination is lively, and susceptible of strong passions; they love glory, and are proud of that which is acquired by their husbands in battle.

[After this portrait, which may still make an agreeable impression, I regret to confess a fact which must destroy its charm. All the Circassian ladies have the itch *, but it is of a very mild description, and is called the *prince's itch:* it must, indeed, be so, for during two voyages in the summer, when I frequently retained in my hands those of the beauties thus affected, I did not catch this disorder. I know not

* Addition in the Russian edition.

what can occasion it; all the Circassians have it, and I have also seen it in the Crimea among the Tatars, but not so frequently. At first it disgusted me; at length, however, I became used to it, so that it no longer excited my attention. Notwithstanding this effect of habit, we must believe that the Turks cure their slaves before they bring them into their Harems. Their care must contribute much to embellish them, for it must be owned, that very few beauties can anywhere resist the effects of the labours and the kind of life to which the women are subjected in their native land. One example will suffice. I said one day to M. Tausch that the warehouses required plastering again. This young man replied, with his Circassian *naïveté,* that he would tell the princesses so; that they had already done it themselves, and would do it again with pleasure. Imagine, gentle reader, these powerful princesses with their *itchy* hands plastering with mud the warehouses of a merchant, and own that this really is too much in the style of Homer*.]

May 22.—Indar Oglou, who in the morning had sent us the present of an ox, came himself to see us

* This paragraph is added by the Russian authorities.

at 1 P. M., accompanied by some other princes. I knew that he set a high value on marks of distinction, especially in presence of his countrymen; I therefore gave him a salute of several guns, which pleased him much. He replied to the expressions of my gratitude for all the trouble we had caused him, that he had only done his duty; that his conduct would prove to us more and more how much he was attached to us; that he hoped to calm the turbulent spirit of the Circassians, to conclude the affair of Moudrov, and, finally, to give a solid basis to our commerce. He begged me also to use my utmost endeavours to realise the project of taking possession of that of the Turks on their coast, which would conciliate the good-will of his countrymen. He doubted not, he said, but that M. Scassi, who had already often manifested a desire to be useful to them, would eagerly embrace the favourable opportunity presented by the prohibition of the Pacha of Anapa. Linens, cutlery, and all sorts of stuffs, of which they were extremely in want, were to compose a great part of our cargo, for they had salt enough to last a long time. He promised to make me acquainted with several princes in the neighbourhood of *Soubèche*, on the coast of *Abazékhes*, whither he would accompany me on my return, to carry mer-

chandize there also. I recommended to him carpenters for cutting timber for building, who had hitherto done nothing, and he assured me that, immediately after my departure, he would send them into the forests which were nearest to the shore, whence the carriage would not be so difficult.

Having learnt that we could not sail till the afternoon of the following day, he promised to come and see me again, and presented me with a handsome girdle in silver.

In the evening the lading of our cargo was completed; it was composed of fire-wood and of several fine pieces of juniper.

May 23.—The prince sent for me to come on shore at eight A. M.: he spoke of our plans with all the warmth of the deepest interest, and begged me to mention in Russia all that I had seen, in order to devise the best means of securing the prosperity of our relations with his country. He gave me various commissions, and strongly recommended me to bring some presents for the three men, whom he had left to protect us against any insults which might have been offered to us; one of them enjoyed a high reputation. The prince could hardly persuade himself to leave me; he had always something to say which detained

him: he returned in the afternoon, and we took our last leave of each other. A man in his suite, whose services I had rewarded, had promised me a present which his sister was embroidering for me: in despair at seeing me depart before it was finished, he threw his girdle to me, saying, with tears in his eyes, "Here, take it, and do not forget thy *Adigheus* friends." I sailed at 8½ P.M., with a gentle breeze from the S.S.E., for the port of Theodosia, whither I was ordered to go.

May 24.—The wind was contrary during the whole of the 24th, and at 8 P.M. we imagined ourselves to be twenty-seven or thirty miles from the coast of Taman.

May 25.—We beat to windward all day between the strait of Kertchè and the Bougaze of the Kouban, and at 3 P.M. we were to the south of Cape Takil: the wind became very fresh, and continually increased in force. I contended against it and a very high sea until day-break, but without making any progress, on account of our drifting considerably, from the taking in of our sails.

The 26th of May at 4 A.M. we found ourselves off Cape Opouk, and the wind still continuing to increase, I resolved to anchor under cover of Cape Takil,

where I arrived with the wind astern ; but it still blew too strong there, and I resolved to run to the quarantine of Kertchè, where I anchored at noon.

I hastened to transmit a report of the state of our affairs in Circassia, and of the measures which I thought most likely to be efficacious in ameliorating them, and enabling us to penetrate into the country. I employed the language of truth, which seemed to me to be indispensable. It were useless to enter into the details of my stay at Ambélaki, which lasted a month, during which time I was exposed to many vexations. I was forced to depart with a cargo of salt, without having even the satisfaction of taking with me the presents which Indar Oglou had asked for himself and for those of his followers who had so nobly defended us, and preserved the establishment from total ruin.

Madame E., endowed by nature with an ardent mind, with a lively imagination, and an eager desire to distinguish herself, qualities which are often so injurious to women, informed me of the resolution she had taken of making a voyage to Circassia. Although persuaded of the cordial reception she would meet with there, I represnted to her the risks she might incur in a country without laws, and almost without

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chiefs, amongst a barbarous people, where the idea they attach to hospitality can alone secure the stranger against the disasters to which he is exposed. She combated all my observations, but would not yield to them; the fears with which I had sought to inspire her gave birth to a thousand romantic ideas, which fixed her intentions, and, in spite of my remonstrances, she embarked with a young Russian lady's maid.

I sailed once more on the 30th of June, at 4 P. M., with a gentle breeze from the S. E. I had formed the project of making an establishment in the territory of Prince Atioukhaï, and for this purpose I anchored at Ghélendjik on the 1st of July.

Prince Atioukhaï immediately invited me to come and see him: he received me very politely, and offered to send one of his people to inform M. Tausch of my arrival, an offer which I accepted. Just as I was about to return on board, I was agreeably surprised by meeting Prince Mehmet going from Anapa to Pchiate, accompanied by Moudrov and his youngest son, who was nine years old. He eagerly inquired what our cargo consisted of, and was by no means pleased with the answer. "Salt, always salt!" said he; "we have enough to salt our mountains; and still we must be clothed."

He was delighted with the arrival of Madame E., and assured me of the pleasure it would afford to his family. The sea was rather rough, and I could not persuade him to come on board, as he feared that he should be incommoded by the motion of the ship; but he requested me to send some tea and sugar for him to Prince Atioukhaï's house, where he was to pass the night. Moudrov came to sup with me, in order to talk over our affairs. His affair, he said, appeared to be forgotten, although as yet he had paid nothing to his wife's relations. But, on the other hand, the suspicions of the Circassians with regard to our establishment seemed to augment. Some Turks had just told him at Anapa that they knew that Tausch and he were only employed in seeking the means of introducing the Russians into the country, which fact was sufficiently proved by their frequent journies to Bougaze, and their conferences with the employés.

July 3.—The next morning early I saw our Konak again, just as he was starting. He advised me to sail again for Pchiate, as there were at Ghélendjik no warehouses prepared for the reception of salt. I promised I would do so. Before sailing Madame E. wished to land: she met during her walk an old Circassian

woman, who, extending her hand to her, said, "Welcome!" and pressed her to her bosom. This is the greatest mark of friendship that can be shown; a kiss belongs to love alone; placed among the last favours of a woman, it is then alone employed: even friendship has no claim to it.

Atioukhaï had invited me to dine with him with Madame E., but the wind being favourable, I would not accept the invitation, and I weighed anchor at 10 A.M. Calms, and contrary breezes, prevented us from anchoring, until the following day, at Pchiate.

Indar Oglou had caused a small half-pounder, the only one he possessed, to be brought down to the shore, in order to give me a salute. His sons, Tausch, and several Circassians, came to receive me on my landing. We visited the warehouses together. I found there a small quantity of wheat, rye, maize, hides, goat, fox, and martin skins. The harvest appeared to have been good on the coast, and exchanges were made with rapidity. It would have been desirable for us to have furnished the inhabitants with other articles of primary necessity, and to have had a wider extent of country for our market.

The carpenters, who beheld our return with much satisfaction, had visited the forests without having

been able to commence their labours, because the good full-grown timber lies beyond the possessions of Indar Oglou, and the other Circassians would not consent to its being cut down, being convinced that Russia would make use of it to come and make war against them.

The Princes Noghaï, Islam-Gheri, Kospolète, and one of their friends, came on board: they complimented Madame E., in the name of their mother and sisters, expressing their admiration of her having ventured to cross the sea to come and see them. I persuaded them to sit down by her, and they did so with all the respect which is shown by our beaux to the fair sex.

Towards six o'clock in the evening I embarked with them to take them on shore; but as it was late I did not land, and immediately rowed back. We were hardly some yards distant from the shore when a musket was fired upon us, and the ball passed between a sailor and myself. Some minutes afterwards a dispute arose on shore, and I recognised among various voices those of Noghaï and Tausch. I had neglected to take my pistol, and fearing to venture without arms, I went on board, where I awaited

day-break with impatience, anxious to learn the cause of this new attempt against us.

July 5.—M. Tausch came to tell us in the morning that the musket had been fired by Moudrov's brother-in-law, who had sworn to kill one of our people. Noghaï would have made him pay dearly for his audacity had he not immediately been snatched out of his hands.

Prince Mehmet was waiting for me on shore: he received me with kindness, and I delivered to him a letter from M. Scassi; but being forced to wait until the learned man of the Valley of Neukheupché, who had written the one with which I had been charged, should come to read it to him, he questioned me as to its contents, and as to what I had done in the Crimea. Mere promises for the future did not seem to satisfy him; and in the course of this conversation I found, with regret, that the projected journey to the neighbourhood of Soubèche could not yet take place.

July 6.—At eight o'clock in the morning M. Tausch came to inform me that the daughters of the prince were come with the intention of paying a visit to Madame E. They were accompanied by a great

number of persons of both sexes, amongst whom was a young *Chapsouke* princess, named Djantine. We went to meet them in a house adjoining our warehouses, and we met a great many people in our progress thither. After having inquired into the state of my health, they complimented me upon the fidelity with which I had kept my word, and assured me of the pleasure which I had afforded them by having brought a lady with me. A violent gust of wind having caused a heavy sea, I found it impossible to induce these ladies to come on board, and they pressed me to go and fetch her, and bring her to their residence.

M. Tausch, some Circassians, and among others, the Atalik of Kospolète, accompanied me. I informed Madame E. of the invitation of the princesses, thinking that she would probably not consent to go to visit them ; but, to my great amazement, she accepted the offer with pleasure, and prepared for her expedition without showing the least uneasiness. I intrusted her to our commissioner, and by the advice of the Atalik I fired a salute of several guns as soon as the boat had left the ship's side. The mouth of the river being rather deeper than usual, it easily ascended it. A crowd of men, women, and children,

who had flocked from the neighbourhood, covered the shores. Several muskets and pistols were fired on her landing. I replied to these salutes, and soon after the thickness of the wood concealed Madame E. from my sight.

At 2 P.M. a ship which we had seen in the morning steering to the north anchored at a musket-shot's length from the schooner. Some Turks who were on board told me that they were going from Trebizond to Anapa with a cargo of linen, and that having met with contrary winds, they ventured to anchor in this roadstead, being emboldened by our presence, as they had no Konak to protect them. They asked me whether there would be any danger in going to water on the shore, and I offered to accompany them thither, which they accepted with pleasure. In the evening they sailed again, profiting by the land-breeze, which then blows regularly.

July 7.—M. Tausch came to tell me that Madame E. having been persuaded by the princesses to prolong her visit to them, had deferred her return till the following day. The account which he gave me of the manner in which she had been received enchanted me, and I rejoiced to have brought her amongst this people, who are the dread of their neighbours, for

whom I had sought to inspire her with terror, and amongst whom no other European had ever penetrated. [It would appear that her beauty contributed much to this result; for the Circassians, as well as all other people amongst whom civilization has made but little progress, are easily prejudiced in favour of persons who are gifted with a pleasing exterior *.]

I decided this day, in concert with Prince Mehmet, on discharging my cargo at Pchiate, and for this purpose we hired several shore-boats to work with our own on the following day.

Whilst walking on shore, I passed within a short distance a group of Circassians, whom I did not know, and who were breakfasting under a tree: they invited me to share in their repast, which was composed of small cakes, and of beef and salt pork. I accepted the offer, and engaged in conversation with them. I learnt that they were going to the neighbourhood of Anapa, to the Chapsoukes, to obtain possession of some horses which a prince had stolen from them. As I was preparing to leave them, one of them rose, and offering me his hand, asked my friendship for himself and for his companions. "In

* This paragraph is added in the Russian edition.

my own country I am a stranger like you," he said. "I have lost my family from the plague; the habitation where they died has been burnt with their effects, and my fields are abandoned. I see now only the sheep and horses of my former neighbours, and I am deprived of everything: my arms, my horse, my saddle, these are all my wealth; without relations, without allies, I have been forced to have recourse to the protection of some Konaks, who, thank God, profess towards me the first of virtues—hospitality: by turns they are my hosts, and I am their defender when occasion requires. Thou art one of our brothers; my arm, my services, are at thy disposal." He once more extended his hand to me, and thus we separated.

July 8.—After having waited for Madame E. a long time, M. Tausch came to inform me of her arrival on the shore. I found her in a car dressed in the Circassian fashion, with the young princesses and the other women of the family of Indar Oglou. They bade her adieu, making her promise to visit them again before her departure.

When we reached the ship I hastened to obtain from Madame E. some details of her Circassian life: she told me, that on her landing, the princesses came

to meet her, and having taken her hand in theirs, they pressed her to their bosoms, presenting alternately the right and left side. A great number of natives, anxious to see her, surrounded her, and accompanied her to a car drawn by oxen, in which she placed herself with the daughters of our Konak and the young Chapsouke princess; others followed on foot. On the road several families were waiting to see her, and they all expressed the pleasure they felt on the occasion.

The wife of Indar Oglou came to receive her at a short distance from her residence, followed by all her vassals. After the usual ceremonies she was conducted into the strangers' apartment: dinner soon followed her arrival; it was served upon twelve little tables. The princesses, who were fasting in consequence of the Ramazan *, occupied themselves during the repast in dividing the bread and meat, to make them into mouthfuls. After dinner they brought water for her to wash her hands, and they washed her feet, which is a mark of high respect. The rest of the day was passed in amusing Madame E. with games and dances. Indar Oglou, who arrived in the evening, rejoiced to see the intimacy prevail-

* A very strict Mahometan fast.

ing between her and his family, and begged her to consider his house as her own. Some of their customs she was quick in adopting, which delighted them: they wished to make her entirely Circassian, and orders were given to prepare a dress for her, at which they worked all night.

The chief of these customs, which did not at all please Madame E., was the necessity of rising at the entrance of a man, or of any older woman, even a vassal: the men, on the other hand, do the same to both sexes; they cannot seat themselves until the person in whose honour they had risen orders them to do so, by the word *tize* (sit down). These people never infringe this rule, and strictly observe it even in their own family.

The hour appointed by the Koran for supper was announced to the whole habitation by a gun which the prince ordered to be fired. Madame E. wished to take this meal with the young princesses, but she was disappointed. A Circassian family never assembles to eat; the father and mother eat apart, as well as their children, who separate according to their age and sex, and eat their portion in a separate place. The wise *Tamari*, an old Turkish slave, who was ordered to attend Madame E. everywhere, and to

procure for her everything she liked, presided at her supper, and prepared for her a sumptuous bed decked with rich coverings. This woman in her youth had been beloved by Indar Oglou, who purchased her at a high price, on account of her beauty. She was subsequently raised to the office of superintendent of the house, and now enjoys the respect of the whole family *. *Goacha* came to share Madame E.'s bed, and watched all night, lest anything should disturb her slumbers †.

The next morning Madame E. was dressed in the Circassian fashion, and the princess's mother, on this occasion, made her some presents in exchange for those which had been brought to her; they consisted of silver clasps, and a set of buttons to edge the front of the caps of married women.

During her residence at the house of our Konak, an adventure occurred, which may serve as an instance of the inquiet life led by these people. Its

* "The lighted torch the sage Euryclea bears:
Daughter of Ops, the just Pisenor's son,
For twenty beeves by great Laertes won."
Odyssey, Book i.

† "Deep in a rich alcove the prince was laid,
And slept beneath the pompous colonnade;
Fast by his side Pisistratus lay spread."
Odyssey, Book iii.

consequences made me rejoice that I had insisted on Madame E.'s return on board.

As I have already stated, theft is forbidden in some cases, especially when two princes have promised by oath to respect each other's property. Our Konak, on the faith of a similar treaty with a Chapsouke prince, had sent one of his vassals to him charged with some commissions: the Chapsouke, unfaithful to his engagements, made him a slave. After some days, this prince's brother passed, not far from Indar Oglou's residence, through a field where a man was labouring, who, feigning ignorance of what had happened to his comrade, led him into his house and strangled him. The news of this event soon spread; persons were deputed on each side, who were unsuccessful in their endeavours to conciliate the two princes, and the affair, from the turn it took, seemed to announce a battle.

July 9.—A Circassian boat which was preparing to push off attracted the suspicion of our friends; it belonged to those in the valley who had shown themselves most bitter against us, and though they said they were bound with a cargo of corn to Pchiate, the certainty they felt that they had none induced the nobles, who were appointed as our guards, to think that they were

coming to attack us. One of them came to sleep on board, and advised us to fire on the first boat that should approach at night.

The prince, who had come to see us, was obliged to return earlier than usual, as the Chapsoukes were arming, and threatened his habitation.

July 10.—Some historians, and more particularly Strabo, tells us that various parts of the country between the Black Sea and the Caucasus were celebrated for their mines. The fable of the golden fleece, which the Argonauts came to seek in Mingrelia, seems to prove that they had long been so. Many mountains are formed of a reddish earth; the trees there are scattered, stunted, and grow with difficulty. At different times fragments have been brought to me, which appeared to be gold and silver ore, both of which were found in the ravines after the rains. At about five leagues from Pchiate there is a mountain of a conical form, rather elevated, and almost entirely bare; at its summit only there is a little wood, into which all those who have penetrated have died immediately, or at the end of a few days; even the animals which graze around do not dare to enter, and no bird has ever been seen to approach it. This fact, which is doubtless exaggerated, and which the

Circassians attribute to the residence there of some evil spirit, may very well arise from the conformation of this mountain. There are other places of which a similar story is told, and which I should have visited had business permitted me to do so.

At noon a man came to tell us that all the vassals of Indar Oglou had joined the prince to defend him against the Chapsoukes, who were approaching his abode. I much regretted that such a circumstance had not been foreseen in my instructions, for I much wished to succour our worthy Konak. I did not dare to do so, though it cannot be doubted but that it must be advantageous to Russia to profit by the civil wars amongst the Circassians, in order to form an alliance with some of their princes.

July 11.—We had a false alarm in the morning, which was the more embarrassing, as our interpreters being on shore, we had no one on board who spoke Circassian.

Our enemies' boat, of which I have above spoken, left the river, and steered towards us full of people. On seeing this, I immediately had our arms brought on deck, and a great number of our friends who were assembled on the shore seemed by their shouts to urge us to the combat. Fearing, however, the unfortunate results

which would certainly ensue, I still hesitated to place the match to the gun, which was loaded with canister-shot, and pointed against them; when, seeing them prepared to board us by the stern, and believing their intentions to be hostile, I was just about to fire, when a young prince, one of my friends, and a relation of Indar Oglou, at that instant appeared amongst them, and saluted me. This dissipated my fears, and I no longer hesitated to suffer them to approach. Some of them came on board, and seemed surprised at the sight of our arms. This, perhaps, prevented them making, on another occasion, a serious attempt. They continued their course to the south, leaving the young prince on board. Having been warned of our preparations, they had persuaded him to come off with them, in order to pass more safely by us.

M. Tausch, who had been present at the attack of the Chapsoukes, came to apprize us that their numbers amounted to 200, and that they had retired without fighting, leaving the affair to the decision of the national assembly. It is thus that their quarrels usually end, though they always commence with magnificent military preparations. The nobles and vassals arm at the call of a man charged to spread the news of the march of the enemy, by riding full gallop

through the province; and they leave their habitations, in order to assemble round that of the prince who places himself at their head; but at the instant when the two parties seem disposed to charge each other with the greatest fury, some neutral persons interfere, and offer themselves as mediators in their affairs, and a few musket and pistol-shots fired in the air end the affair for the time. It is only the expeditions against the distant tribes, when the alliance of several princes offers more chances of success, which sometimes becomes bloody. The only damage occasioned by this one was the destruction of a small field of flax sown by the Princess Goacha. She was much vexed at it, and was with difficulty persuaded to consent that her father should not insist upon its value being paid.

July 12.—The discharge of our cargo having been completed the day before, I commenced embarking the exchanged merchandise, whose amount daily increased, and which consisted chiefly of rye, wheat, barley, maize, wax, honey, ox and goat-skins, and some furs. The first article was the most considerable, on account of the harvest; the others, with the exception of goat-skins, were barely sufficient for samples. This part of Circassia produces them, but

what is found there is sent to Anapa, whose merchants supply the Circassians with a great variety of articles which they make use of.

M. Tausch had long since spoken to me of the antiquities which are sometimes discovered by the Circassians. At the time of my first voyage he had even given me a vase, accidentally found in cultivating the ground. It was filled with bones which had been thrown away in order that it might be used for keeping brandy. It was made of clay, of a common form, and covered with green paint. Before my departure I persuaded M. Tausch to have searches made in the small tumuli, which are seen in different parts of the country, and particularly in the forest near the sacred wood which I had visited. The Circassians say they are the tombs of a great nation which inhabited their country. They are generally covered with large stones. Our commissioner had been prevented by different causes from attending to this matter; and the new affairs which had occupied me since my return had not permitted me to make any researches after these objects of curiosity. My attention was that day awakened by the sight of two baked earthen vases, one about two feet and a half high, containing ashes, rings, and

copper buttons, as well as some iron utensils, so rusty, that they were no longer to be recognized, and which broke on being touched. A tusk of a boar had been found upon them, and by the side of the urn the remnants of a glass cup, or rather a lacrymatory. The other, which was much smaller, likewise contained only ashes and the skeleton of a small animal, which may easily have been taken for a lizard. Had it been put there purposely or accidentally, as the tusk of a boar was in the other? This question must be settled by wiser antiquaries than I am. I interrogated the Circassians with regard to the spot where they found these vases, and learnt that they were under the tumuli, three or four feet from the surface towards the S. E., always near the spot where coal is found, no doubt the remains of a fire. The possessor of these vases had, according to M. Tausch, a great passion for antiques, and, although he was as ignorant as his countrymen, he made it his chief occupation. I regretted that his residence was too far from the shore, for I might have made use of him, by getting him to procure these articles for me. Strangers who search the tombs create suspicion among the Circassians, who say they are seeking among the small bits of copper for proofs

that their ancestors possessed the land, in order to have a right to obtain possession of it. The eagerness evinced by travellers to purchase medals when Anapa was occupied by the Russians has perhaps given rise to this singular idea.

Indar Oglou came to invite Madame E., in the name of his family, to visit them the next day, and to remain there during the rest of our stay at Pchiate. I consented with pleasure to this proposal.

July 13.—At 7 A. M. I went half a league to the north of this anchorage, to see some fir, juniper, and oak wood, destined to complete our cargo. On my return, Madame E. told me that the princesses were come for her, and she embarked to go and join them, accompanied by their brothers and M. Tausch. This commissioner returned in the evening, and we prepared on the following morning to make an incursion into the country. He told me that at the house of one of the inhabitants of the valley Moudrov had seen an old manuscript in literal Greek, and that a Circassian was in possession of a cornelian, on which an ox and some letters were engraved. I made M. Tausch feel the impropriety of not having sooner communicated to me so interesting a discovery, and I strongly urged him to neglect no efforts to procure

me the two objects in question. It appears that the manuscript was carefully preserved by its proprietor, and that it would have been difficult to obtain it; but a copy of it ought to have been taken.

The enthusiasm which I felt for this country led to a thousand reflections on the means of establishing myself in it, and of enjoying the confidence of its inhabitants, amongst whom I should have been glad to have settled. The friendship shown me by some of the princes did not suffice, in my opinion, to enable me to undertake all I had desired; I required a powerful support, and it was necessary to remove the suspicions which might have been raised against me, if I had become naturalized in the country. I learnt that a custom facilitated my wishes, and offered me the means of becoming adopted into a Circassian family. The ceremony of adoption consists in applying the mouth for a few moments to a woman's breast. She, as well as her husband, become from that time forward ataliks to the stranger, whom they receive among the number of their own legitimate children. As this entails a few presents to the family, and as I was at that time unable to make them, I postponed, until my next voyage, the execution of my wishes. The stranger thus naturalized,

who would wish to settle in Circassia, would encounter no difficulties in the way of marriage, and he would immediately become the ally of a great many families, for the ramifications of relationship are very much extended, and the obligation which the tie imparts of having but one and the same interest, would give a power and consideration which would be acquired with difficulty without these means.

July 14.—We landed very early, hoping to witness the arrival of our Circassian cicerone according to his promise; but having waited for him in vain, we decided on going alone to the spot which had been indicated, and we took with us a Circassian, and a sailor provided with a pickaxe. After having climbed the mountain to the south-east of the roadstead, through a very thick wood, filled with ancient tombs, we reached the summit. There we found a plain, covered with small mounds, and cultivated between: it is bounded to the north-east by a wood, which extends over one of the highest mountains of the valley; and to the south, by a steep precipice about fifty yards above the level of the sea, which bathes its base. We were a long time undecided what spot of ground to choose; but with our scanty implements we naturally selected one of the funeral

mounds, which appeared to us the most easy to excavate. At about two feet below the surface, to the south-west, and on a level with the plain, we found a long, strong sword, with the iron of a spear placed in the form of a cross. This discovery made us redouble our efforts, and after we had dug for some time by the side of a stratum of coal we succeeded in discovering a vase which we had much difficulty in removing from the earth on account of its hardness, and the stones by which it was surrounded. Our disappointment was extreme, when, after taking every possible pains to avoid breaking anything, we only found an old pot of clay, the edges of which were broken, and which was turned topsy-turvy. A layer of earth, hardened by time, retained the ashes, which we perceived in the inside of it through a crack. I took it up, and found amongst the cinders some copper buttons of the same form as those which had been given to me before, and some iron utensils, disfigured by rust, which broke on being touched. I wished to continue digging, but the sun, which was already very high, made the heat insufferable: our labours went on slowly, and as we had but one pickaxe, it would have been impossible for us to undertake to excavate one

of the tumuli, which, from their size, and the large stones which covered them, appeared to indicate that persons of distinction had been buried beneath them. I contented myself with going to visit, on my return, a very wide road which leads, along the sea, to an ancient fortress, of which one still sees the ruins on a mountain commanding the valley, and which we hoped to visit another day. It was late, and affairs called me elsewhere.

In the evening we had a proof of the weakness of the party formed by the relations of the wife of Moudrov. In walking on the banks of the river, we saw the brother of the young Matapkha, the one who had fired upon our boat, crossing it in a canoe, to go and seek an asylum from one of our friends, whom he had chosen as his Konak. The Circassians, as well as strangers, have sometimes recourse to Konaks. It is a means made use of by the weak or the unhappy to protect themselves from the attacks of whoever would injure them.

Having almost completed the loading of our vessel, we fixed on the following day to go and see Prince Indar Oglou, who was to wait for us at his house.

July 15.—M. Tausch and I mounted our horses

early. I saw again, with renewed pleasure, the beautiful valley across which our path lay. We stopped for a few moments at the house of a Circassian who was ill, and whom my companion wished to see. I was astonished at the noise that issued from within: young people and children were occupied in all sorts of noisy games, whilst the physician, gravely seated by the invalid, only articulated now and then one or two words. His place is held sacred; no one dares take it if he goes away; any one presuming to profane it by taking possession of it would be obliged to pay him a considerable sum. They treat their patients with simples and amulets: for the cure of certain fevers, they place great faith in some ancient tombs, and in the ruins of ancient monuments, where they send their sick to sleep for several nights. During my first journey to Ghélendjik, a Circassian asked me for a remedy, or some prayer for a relative, who had been for a long time suffering from a disease which he could not exactly explain to me. As I had no kind of medicines on board, I decided on praying for him, which might satisfy him, without the possibility of doing him any harm. It was done with all the gravity of a doctor, and received very respectfully by the man, who did

not know how sufficiently to express his gratitude. On returning to the Crimea, I thought no more of this amusing adventure; but one day the same man came to remind me of it, by bringing me some eggs and cheese from his relation, who had been entirely cured. Although I was astonished at this cure, I thought I might indulge a little further in my quackery, and I answered, that I knew beforehand that it would succeed.

The ceremony is different for a wounded man; he must have no arms in his house. At his door there stands a plate full of water, in which are placed an egg with a ploughshare at the side; every one, before entering, strikes it three times with the end of his fingers, and throws water into the room. Young boys and girls play, sing songs composed in honour of the wounded man, and amuse themselves also by giving bites to a round cake suspended from the ceiling by a string.

The custom of making a noise in the room of invalids is found among some other nations more or less civilized than the Circassians, who pretend by this means to drive away the evil spirits.

At half a league from the dwelling of Indar Oglou, M. Tausch showed me a site where that

prince had proposed to build the store-houses, in order to insure their tranquillity, and to avoid, by their being situated on his own property, the payment of the import duty which the Circassians exacted from us. As the goods were at that time in the centre of the valley, they would also have been more within the reach of the houses in the interior.

On arriving at the prince's habitation I was received in a house newly constructed, in the place occupied by the one which had been burnt by the relations of Moudrov. Madame E. inhabited the one where I had been received on the former voyage. I thanked Mehmet for his kindness, and the reception which he and all his family had given him. He replied, that nothing had been more flattering to him than his confidence in them; that he should have been glad that his stay at Pchiate had been prolonged, in order that he might have been enabled to prove how much he loved us; that, moreover, Madame E. was at liberty to remain with him until my return; that his life, and that of his sons, would answer for the security which she would enjoy during my absence. "I love you as my children," said he: "dispose of me on every occasion. Thank God, I have fortune enough; my only desire is to have friends."

The price of bullocks had for a long time led me to make reflections on the salting of meat, which ought to offer splendid profits in Circassia. It is only the Turks at Anapa who engage in this branch of industry, for which they find a market at Constantinople. The price of goats and their skins was also very low. I have thought that the manufacture of morocco skins would be a great object for this country, where they sell at from fifteen to eighteen Turkish piastres, and where the demand for them is very great. I communicated to the prince my desire to form an establishment, in which we should occupy ourselves with preparing these two articles. He warmly applauded the idea, and told me that I might rely on the security which the people employed in it would enjoy.

The captains of some English and Spanish vessels had asked me at the quarantine of Kertche a great many questions about the country, and my answers appeared to inspire them with a strong desire to visit it; they inquired for this purpose about the coast, the anchorage, and the name of our Konak, which I gave them. Indar Oglou, on learning this, appeared flattered at seeing that he was about to become

known in Europe for his hospitality, and he assured me of the good reception he would give to every stranger who should land in my name.

After dinner the prince invited me to go and see his family. Whilst I was with them, the wife of Noghaï made her escape through the window, in order not to be seen by her husband, who was just announced. The Circassian appears to fly from everything that may remind him of his affections and his pleasures, as if to give way to them were a weakness. It is even uncivil to speak to him of his children, especially if they are very young. I gave pain to Noghaï by noticing one of his children of about four years old, who seemed to give promise of the same character as his father. It is only by age that one obtains the right of laying aside this stoicism, and the old man, after having manifested his courage in his youth, may abandon himself to tenderness in the bosom of his family. Indar Oglou saw his wife, and caressed his children.

I again saw in the prince's house the young Chapsouke princess named Djantine; she struck me as being very pretty, but her countenance was far from meriting the praises of the Circassians. I myself

remarked in her a great deal of coquetry, which was shown by her entirely European manners, which very much surprised me.

The princesses increased the pain we felt at quitting them by anticipating, by a thousand attentions, everything that could give us pleasure. I witnessed some dances executed to the sound of a sort of three-stringed violin: they were in the Asiatic style, somewhat melancholy, but without expression; the steps consisted in springing in the air without grace, and are rendered extremely difficult by the position of the feet, which are almost always turned inwards. Their other instruments are a sort of flageolet and a Basque tambour. The song is not more cheerful than the dance, although some of the airs are tolerably pretty; their songs, which are not in rhyme, often serve to celebrate virtues, as well as to stigmatise crimes: this is one of the punishments of the wicked. Several of them were sung in my presence; amongst others, the complaint of a young man whom they had wished to banish from the country because he had returned alone from an expedition against the Russians, in which all his companions had perished. It is thus that one con-

tinually finds in the history of these people features which remind us of the heroic times of Greece.

The poets also consecrate their songs to the celebration of the memory of the most remarkable events. It is by the study of these songs that one might be enabled to penetrate the thick veil which shrouds the history of the people of the Caucasus. I should have been glad to possess a translation of one of these poems; but notwithstanding the obligingness of M. Tausch, who knows several of them, I was deprived of that pleasure. He procured me a song of another kind, the singularity of which induces me to insert it here. I knew Prince Djamboulet, who is mentioned in it: he was a man renowned for his bravery, who died of the plague in 1816.

On a cross-road *Paka** has ordered a post to be placed, to attach easily the horses of the knights who come to admire his incomparable beauty.

Voriracha, vorira ma *Paka!*

Naourous-okou davlet mourza begins the dance, *Batseche-okou* joins him; the *Raide Melike-olou* finally arrives.

Voriracha, vorira ma *Paka!*

The Diviner *Has-oglou*, the Hunchback *Haounte-oglou*, *Ghaoume-okou*, *Batseche*; *Ghatkha Kalabate*, the Sage, who puts every thing in order.

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* This name signifies *snub-nose*; the same thing as *kournossaia* in Russian.

Voriracha, vorira ma *Paka!*

His brother *Djamboulet* places himself on the cross-road. He draws his sword, and strikes all those of the lovers who have spoken ill of his sister *Paka*.

Voriracha, vorira ma *Paka!*

Their fire soon goes out, and the ties which bound them to *Paka* break, and *Paka* remains wise. She marries a prince of the Bzedoukhes.

Voriracha, vorira ma *Paka!*

The preparations for our departure spread grief amongst the whole family of Indar Oglou. They filled an *araba* with all sorts of provisions, and among other things, cakes of flour, honey, and butter; the prince wished to make me a present of two horses, but I only consented to take a *bourka*.

Our separation was painful: the marks of friendship of these good Circassians had strongly attached me to them; and I foresaw, with sorrow, that perhaps I should see them no more. Goacha, and her mother and sister, for a long time held Madame E. in their embraces; she could only tear herself away from them with grief, and she mingled her tears with theirs. Indar Oglou promised to come and see me the next day. It was late: his sons Islam Gheri and Kaspolete, as well as a prince related to them, and several nobles, were commissioned to accompany us. We met some families,

who being informed of our approaching departure, awaited us on the road to bid us adieu, and to engage us to return and see them.

One event, which especially affected the Circassians, was the departure of M. Tausch, who was called by different affairs into the Crimea; every one of the inhabitants felt that he lost in him a son or a father; and he himself quitted with regret a country in which his youth has been passed.

July 16.—At eight o'clock Indar Oglou arrived, accompanied by his son, some nobles, and Moudrov. He had brought for Madame E. a cow and a goat with its kid, which Goacha sent him as a present. I recommended our warehouses to the care of this good prince, as well as the carpenters, who saw our departure with regret. He assured me that he would unceasingly watch over their tranquillity.

["With regard to what still remains," said he, "to consolidate the prosperity of your establishment, you are now as well informed as I am: you have lived under our roofs, and if the affair of Moudrov has injured your undertaking, it has at least shown that the friendship of a Tcherkesse for a Frenchman is not to be shaken, and that adversity can in no degree affect it." Then taking me by the hand, and

pressing it with emotion, "Go," said he, "Noble-dgeghid, go tell the Russians, who despise us, what you have seen amongst us. You know what we are. Teach them to know us. Persuade them to put an end to useless wars. Tell them that freedom dwells in our mountains; that death is to us preferable to a foreign yoke; and that commerce alone can give them access to our shores. Let them come in your name; let them provide for our wants. My friendship—all that I possess shall be theirs. As for you, forget not the projects you have communicated to me; hasten to put them into execution, and believe that you will always find in me a father and a friend*."]

I took advantage of the time which was employed by him in transacting business with his own people to go to the sacred wood, to perform a religious ceremony which I had long intended to do. It is customary for a Circassian trading in the country, who returns victorious from an incursion, or who has bound himself by any vow, to make an offering to the cross. The articles destined for this purpose are attached either to it or to the tree which supports it. No inhabitant dares touch them, and they are only

* This paragraph is omitted in the Russian edition.

carried off by the enemies who make incursions into the country. The latter, though professing the same religion, do not respect the sanctity of the place, but plunder all they find. A feast generally follows the ceremony of the offerings, and the heads of the animals killed on this occasion are likewise suspended to the branches of the trees. The various affairs of the establishment which had engrossed my attention during the whole of our residence here prevented me from giving all that pomp to this pious undertaking with which I should have wished it to be accompanied. I contented myself with going with Madame E., accompanied by a part of the crew, some nobles, and our commissioners, and attaching some stuffs to the cross. Madame E. set the first example, and we all followed it. The joy and admiration which this sight created amongst the Circassians whom we had not informed of the object of our walk, it is impossible for me to describe; they warmly pressed our hands, and assured us that they would every where proclaim our piety and the homage we had paid to their religion. Our return to the old prince was a sort of triumph.

All our affairs being settled, it was necessary to part. Our Konak repeated in the warmest terms

the assurance of his friendship. I was affected by his kindness, and that of his people: one of them, named Kalmouk, absolutely insisted on following us, and embarked for the Crimea.

We set sail at nine o'clock P.M. with a fresh breeze from the N.E. Our passage lasted six days. We were detained by calms and contrary winds, and anchored on the 22nd of July in the roadstead of Theodosia.

Shortly afterwards I was induced by different reasons to request my discharge, and I bade an eternal farewell to the people of the Caucasus*. I confess, however, that before I was able to come to this decision I was tormented by a thousand plans: I was frequently on the point of running the risk of engaging in them; and neither their extent, nor their difficulties would have been obstacles in my path, had my fortune enabled me to put them into execution. But a much larger one than mine was required, in order to force the ordinary march of events to take gigantic strides in proportion to my impatience.

After I had landed, the command of the schooner the Circassian was conferred on the officer who had

* The result has proved that I was mistaken.

served under my orders. She was sent to Soukhoum Kalé in Mingrelia, and he did not appear again that year in Circassia. In this voyage the schooner would have been attacked by two Abases barks, if the young Circassian whom I had brought with me, and who had embarked in her, in the hope of returning to his country by way of Mingrelia, had not declared himself his Konak. A short time afterwards the magazines at Pchiate were set on fire, and the carpenters, as well as the other persons employed, would have been infallibly massacred, had not Indar Oglou defended them with his wonted generosity. This ever-constant friend rebuilt the warehouses at his own expense, and again succeeded in calming his countrymen. In 1819 they tried to send the schooner back thither with a cargo of salt: it only brought back a few samples of wood for building, after having been very ill received at Ghélendjik and at Pchiate.

Such are the limits within which the operations of the Russians on the coasts of Circassia have been hitherto (1820) confined; and it is not difficult to presume that they have not sufficed to change the taste of its inhabitants for plunder [nor to make them feel the advantage which they would derive

from maintaining commercial and friendly relations with their neighbours *].

[†It is painful to think that the Emperor Alexander, wearied at last with the complaints against them, with which he was daily assailed, will perhaps decide on carrying the war into their country. For some time past, General Yermoloff, who commands in Georgia, attacks the tribes adjoining his government, and those through whose countries the road passes from Mozdock to Tefflis. But some successes, often purchased by considerable losses, have, up to this time, been the only results; and what fruits can be gained from a war against these warlike people, in an unknown country, difficult of access, filled with defiles or immense forests, whose inhabitants having nothing more to lose after setting fire to their huts, will go and establish themselves on inaccessible mountains, whence, supposing even that the low country were subjugated, they would for a long time molest the conquerors, who must continually maintain an army in the country? The horrors of a war with freeborn savages, whom the most atrocious examples

* The sentence within brackets is an addition inserted in the Russian edition.

† The following paragraph is omitted in the Russian edition.

cannot tame, would inundate this conquest with blood. The jesuits of Paraguay have left us more agreeable reminiscences than Cortes and the Ferdinands; and I think I ought not to doubt, that with the commerce which has introduced the Genoese into that country, and which has since given to the Ottoman Porte the power it enjoys, one may succeed in realising in Circassia the attractive picture, of which that portion of the New World has been the theatre. Poor and warlike tribes in a country so easy to defend will always unite to oppose its being conquered; they will fight for their only wealth—freedom; interest, on the contrary, will not fail to disunite them, and to open a wide field for the political enterprises with which speculators would be charged*.]

After having obtained my leave, I sent to Odessa

* The Duke de Richelieu, who knew the Tcherkesses, and who saw them as they are, felt this great truth; and no one, doubtless, deserved more than he did to present to the Emperor Alexander a plan which affected the happiness of a people. His wishes ought to have been fulfilled; and the man of feeling would have been moved at the sight of a new nation issuing from the gloomy forests of the Caucasus, and indebted to a philosophic prince and to a virtuous minister for the benefits of civilization. Why, alas! must some individuals have destroyed such pleasing hopes!—*Note of the English Editor.*

to General Count de Langeron, Governor of New Russia, a description of the anchorages of Ghélendjik and of Pchiate, and the plans of them, as well as of a portion of the coast, from Cape Tsuougu to Ghélendjik, which was before unknown. Count Langeron expressed to me his thanks in the most flattering terms.

TRAVELS IN CIRCASSIA,

In 1823 and 1824.

INTRODUCTION.

The capitulations between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, which granted to the latter the right of entering the Black Sea, date from about the year 1680; but they were never carried into execution until the year 1820, the period at which firmans were granted, without clauses or any conditions, drawn up exactly in the same form as those obtained by Russian vessels; but none of the Netherland vessels took advantage of them. Towards the end of 1820, an encouragement having been offered by the government to any shipowners who would undertake an experimental voyage to the coast of the Black Sea, the mercantile house of Delescluze, of Bruges, wished to take advantage of it, and armed, for this purpose,

two brigs, the "Theresa" and the "Triton," which formed a commercial enterprize, placed under the protection of the King of the Netherlands. I was appointed to the charge of it, and on the 9th of January, 1821, His Majesty was graciously pleased to name me his Vice-Consul for the Ports of the Black Sea. It is thus that I found myself placed at the head of the first enterprize attempted by the Netherlands in a sea on which its flag had obtained the right of waving upwards of 140 years before.

I embarked in the brig "Theresa," commanded by Captain Busch. On the 16th of March we sailed from Nieuport, but we were driven back by a tempest to Ostend, whence, on the 10th of April, we sailed with the "Triton," Captain Coelinck. On the 3rd of May we passed the straits of Gibraltar. On the 7th we fell in, off Algiers, with the Netherlands squadron, under the orders of Admiral Ruyus, who informed us that an insurrection had broken out in Greece. On the 11th we touched at Malta, in order to obtain further information; and as we could learn nothing of a positive kind, we set sail again on the 20th. On the 1st of June, being off the Gulf of Athens, the commander of a Greek flotilla gave us some details of the state of Constan-

tinople, which made us determine on going to Hydra, to see the Russian Consul at Athens, who had been forced to quit his post. The information which we received from this functionary, the letters which subsequently reached us, and the departure of the Russian Minister from Constantinople, led us to consider a rupture between the Court of St. Petersburgh and that of Turkey, as inevitable. We therefore feared being exposed to be shut up in the Black Sea, and we determined on waiting in the Egean, until the political horizon should clear up. This resolution and different circumstances which attended it, retained me during eighteen months on the theatre of the Greek insurrection. I visited Hydra, Spetzia, Athens, Corinth, Salamis, Æghina, Cape Sunium, almost the whole of the Cyclades, a great portion of the Sporades, Smyrna, and some other parts of Asia Minor. The memorable events, the enthusiastic joys, and the profound griefs of which I was a witness, strongly attached me to Greece. The years 1821 and 1822, form an epoch in my life, the remembrance of which can never be effaced! I spent the winter of 1823 at Constantinople; and on the 19th of March of that year, I entered the Black Sea with the brigs, the

"Triton" and the "Petit Auguste," which anchored at Theodosia on the 30th.

I shall not here dilate upon all the voyages which I made in the Black Sea during the expedition to which I was attached. I shall only describe those which brought me into relation with Circassia, and which I have extracted from my journal; the object of the voyage being to contribute to a knowledge of the Caucasus, which is rendered at the present day a subject of interest by the possession of Anapa by the Russians, and by the establishments formed by them on the coast. I shall avoid, as much as possible, alluding to any matters foreign to the subject, nor shall I even allude any farther to the relations which M. Scassi established there, and to their results.

VOYAGE TO ANAPA IN 1823.

On the 17th of April, 1823, I quitted Theodosia in the brig the "Petit Auguste," commanded by Captain Cornelisse, to visit the coasts of Circassia. The "Triton" was destined to enter the Sea of Azoff at a later period. We sailed at five o'clock in the morning, with a fresh wind from the north-west, which carried us quickly towards Anapa, which is seventy-six miles distant from Theodosia—it lasted but a short time. We were overtaken by a calm at noon, which kept us until nine o'clock in the evening, opposite Mount Opule and the Karavia rocks, which are isolated at about two miles from the coast, and which the navigator imagines at a distance to be vessels under sail. I recollected that at the foot of Mount Opule there are rivers which are supposed to be those of *Kimmérione* (Cimmerium) and of *Kité* (Cyte); that a little farther are the ruins of *Akra*, at the entrance of the Cimmerian Bosphorus,

the shores of which are associated with the remembrances of *Pauticapeum*, *Nymphæa*, and *Fanagoria*; but the great names which Athens, Salamis, Argos, and Corinth formerly enjoyed, and those of some Greek colonies in Scythia, now themselves become barbarous, no longer acted powerfully on my imagination.

During the night the wind blew strong. At sunrise we were opposite the mountains of Circassia, on the summit of which the clouds appeared fixed; the whole sky was clouded, and gave a sombre hue to this savage coast. I very soon discovered the white cliffs in the neighbourhood of Anapa, and the point on which that fortress stands. I ordered them to steer in such a manner as to avoid the bar at the edge of it, and we cast anchor in six fathom water. The heavy roll of the sea, united with the violence of the wind, prevented our landing. A Turkish bark, however, came out to hail us, and returned the next day with the *Limane Reis* (the harbour-master) to take us to the Pacha. His invitation was somewhat abrupt. I thought our appearance had excited suspicion amongst the inhabitants of Anapa, who, for the first time, witnessed the arrival amongst them of a *Frank* vessel, and the insurrection of the Greeks,

and the interest which they imagined the Russians took in its progress, made them regard every stranger as a spy, or ever the leader of a hostile force.

In order that I might visit Anapa, and the coasts of Asia Minor, the Chargé d'Affaires of the King at Constantinople had only obtained for me the firman of a *Boziriane*, or merchant, as the Sultan only granted at that time to Russia and to France the right of having Consuls. I was provided, therefore, with but a very inefficient title to dispel the suspicions of the Anapalists.

The sea having somewhat subsided, it became possible for our bark to land me, and I was immediately surrounded by inquisitive Turks and Circassians. I was immediately conducted to the Pacha, whose house, a miserable barrack, was situated at the southern extremity of the fortress. In order to reach the hall of audience, I was obliged to pass through a sort of corridor, narrow, muddy, and dark, at the end of which a curtain before the door was raised, and the *Ghiaour* was announced. The Pacha received me seated on a sofa, enveloped in pelisses, and showing no other vestige of human forms than a head adorned with a long white beard, in the middle of which the amber head of a pipe reposed on his

lips. After having for a long time questioned me with regard to the object of my voyage, the number of the men who had accompanied me, and the nature of our cargo, he gave orders to an officer, *Touféktchi Bachi* (chief of the fusileers), who performs the functions of head of the police, to visit the vessel, and taking leave of me he forbade any sort of traffic or rambling within the fortress.

Two large Turkish barges and our own boat were filled with men, armed to the teeth, who made every sort of search on board the "Petit Auguste," in order to ascertain that it contained nothing dangerous to the fortress of Anapa. In order that I might support more patiently all their absurdities, the Touféktchi Bachi assured me a hundred times over that this was but an imitation of a custom lately introduced amongst them, but for a long time in use amongst the Ghiaours. He was accompanied by a young Circassian, distinguished for his prepossessing appearance. He seemed pleased with everything he saw, and in going over the brig frequently repeated the Italian word *buono*. I took him aside to give him a glass of rum, and to inquire to what country he belonged, and where he had learnt to see Franks. "Oh!" replied he, "I do not belong to these savages;

I am neither from Anapa nor from Anatolia; I was born at Larissa, in the beautiful Roumelia. I have served under the famous Ali Pacha, and his son Veli; it is there that I have seen the Franks, and have appreciated their superiority over us. Ali, who was a great man, esteemed them much. The Turks at Anapa imagine that you have brought troops on board your vessel to seize their fortress. Can you conceive such cowards? They say also that you are spies; and what could you have come to spy out here? The Russians were five years in possession of Anapa; they know well enough how it is fortified." "But," said I, "to what nation do they suppose we belong? If they put faith in a Turkish passport, they must perceive that we are Dutch, and therefore by no means come to make war upon them." "Oh, my friend, those people do not reason; they are not addicted to thinking, as you are; under the name of Ghiaours, they confound all the Christians, whose seven *krals* (kings), they say, are allied together to resist the power of the Mussulmans. As for me, I look upon you as merchants, travellers, deserving people, who wish to see the world, in order to acquire more knowledge. I would rather live with you than with them. Alas! when shall I return to my country? Have you ever been

in Roumelia?" "Yes." "Do you know Greek?" "Yes." "Well, let us speak Greek, it is almost my own language." I learnt that his name was Ali; that at the court of Veli Pacha he had killed a young man who pretended to be handsomer than himself; and that this had compelled him to fly from Constantinople, where he had been enrolled in the suite of the Pacha of Anapa, in the capacity of *Narghilédji Bachi* (chief of the Persian pipe). At last his companions called him away, reproaching him with having so long conversed with a Ghiaour, and he departed, saying that he would speak about me to the Pacha.

It is singular to observe the attachment which the Turks born in Greece bear to the Christians, when they find themselves surrounded by Asiatics. I have often made this remark, and as we see at Anapa, I now had a new proof of it.

The Toufektchi Bachi carried away some cake and two bottles of wine, which he secretly entrusted to his friends.

I staid on board, waiting with impatience for the decision of the Pacha. During the night we had a strong gale from the south-west, which induced us to let go a second anchor, and prepare a third, which, fortunately, we had no occasion for. The danger to

which this bad weather exposed us, together with the inhospitality of the inhabitants of Anapa, cast a gloom over our spirits, and M. Delescluze, junior, wished me to set sail again as soon as possible. Accustomed for a long time to meet with vexations, I supported better than he did our unfortunate commencement. I represented to him how much it became us to stand out for a few days longer against the persevering bad weather, and the suspicions of the inhabitants.

The next day I presented myself before the Pacha, with M. Delescluze and M. Gallina. His reception was somewhat more favourable; but he still reflected on the importance of keeping in the roadstead of the fortress a small brig of eighty tons, armed with four guns, and which carried in all ten men. I went away, after obtaining, as the only favour, the power of sitting down in the coffee-house of the harbour-master, situated opposite the gate of the esplanade, and at the entrance of a street occupied by shops, which we were forbidden even to look at. Every Turkish chief has his coffee-house, which is a sort of corps-de-garde; people go there to pay him their court, and it serves, as in almost every country, as a rendezvous to loungers. The Pacha even has a coffee-house of his own, with

this difference, that he is never seen there; it is the *Cafedji Bachi*, his excellency's master of coffee, who presides there. This man is one of his chief officers; his protection is sought by every one, and he receives the lion's share in the presents which it is necessary to distribute in leaving his master's house.

April 22.—I had the good fortune at last to find a Tatär who was willing to give me information of what one might buy at Anapa, and what the natives stood in want of. I ascertained that our cloths, cottons, steel, nails, and glass, would sell there to advantage. The people of Anapa had to offer in exchange hides, hare-skins, furs, and wax. I immediately went to the Pacha to make a last trial; his countenance appeared to me less repulsive; a long conversation on politics, which we had had on the preceding evening, had given him a better opinion of me. I took advantage of it to ask the favour of his putting me in relation with the merchants of Anapa. He did not grant it, but he was willing to send on board the "Auguste" a man, charged to examine the cloth and cottons, which he was in want of. He was an Armenian, of no character. By the simplicity of my questions, and by the confidence which I feigned to place in him, I made him believe that he

would gain enormously with us, if we were to transact business at Anapa. I gave him a very respectful reception, and some glasses of punch, which succeeded in producing the desired effect. On returning to his master, he offered his head as a pledge for our good conduct, and warmly engaged him to permit us to sell our goods, as well as to purchase those which the inhabitants might offer us.

After dinner, I took the same steps with the *Imorogor*, or great equerry: this man was fond of drinking. I allowed him to see some bottles of rum, and he immediately proclaimed to everybody that he had known me intimately at Constantinople and Alexandria.

The following morning the young Albanian of Larissa came to inform me, that an extraordinary change had taken place in my favour in the mind of the Pacha. I spoke to him of my intention to make him a present, and I begged him to assist me in the choice of the articles which he thought might be most acceptable to him. According to his advice, I chose rum, sugar, and cakes, which I hastened to send to the Pacha, to whom I repaired. It was impossible for me any longer to doubt of my progress, when he told me to sit down; and I heard him give

the order to bring me coffee—a mark of honour which I had not yet enjoyed. We finally obtained permission to disembark our goods, and to place them in a small shop situated between the coffee-house of the Touféktchi Bachi and that of the Limane Reis, and we received from the Pacha a present of two sheep. All this, added to the lovely weather, made the smiles reappear on our lips; our countenances became cheerful, and we only thought of profiting by the advantages we had gained.

On the 20th, very early in the morning, a great many hides of oxen and cows were already heaped up before our shop, to be exchanged for steel. Our exchanges became every day more and more important; the inhabitants of Anapa and the Circassians surrounded us incessantly, and testified their satisfaction in striving to bring us everything that we appeared to desire; still we were not yet permitted to go and walk freely to the other quarters of the town; for some merchants continued to regard us as enemies, and the Pacha, who was by no means dreaded, was afraid to expose us to the dangerous effects of their suspicions.

On the 30th of April I witnessed the arrival of Prince Atioukaï, who lives at Ghélendjik, and of

whom I make mention in my first travels in Circassia. He appeared to look back to that period with pleasure: he made me an offer of his services, and invited me to go and see him with my travelling companions, whom I had presented to him. He assured me of a rapid sale of our goods, and of excellent bargains in the productions of his country, of which we were most in quest: but I knew Ghélendjik too well to place confidence in all that he said. After shaking hands with all of us, he detained mine, raised his eyes to heaven, and preceded by a deep sigh the following speech, which he pronounced with solemnity: "It is many years since I have known you; you have been received at my house; I was unable at that time to do anything for your commerce, because Indar Oglou had drawn it to Pchiate; but I have contributed much to procure you friends, and I have spread your name amongst all the Noutakhaïtsis, the Chapsoukes, and the Abazekhs. You then made me a present, which I have kept for a long time, and which I have worn to your health and happiness. To-day I am happy in having made the acquaintance of new strangers. I shall also be their Konak: I shall testify my strength and my power in protecting them, and in rendering them

all the services which they may require. I have already spoken of you to the Pacha; he will answer to me for your tranquillity; but you will be much better at Kouttousi, and I promise you brilliant affairs there. You have promised to come there. I doubt not that you will do so: in the meantime, I shall be very much obliged to you to give me sixty piastres, cloth for a dress, and gunpowder. Do not suppose that I ask this from interest. Oh, no; God preserve me from such a sentiment! It is simply as a pledge of your friendship, that I am anxious to have these things."

My travelling companion, who, far from looking forward to this termination, had hitherto admired the noble hospitality of the Circassians, suddenly changed countenance in the most ludicrous manner. I succeeded in reducing the present to a few yards of cotton, to which we added some powder, and quantities of compliments. We assured Atioukaï of our affection, of the pleasure we should have in seeing him again, and of proving it by new presents. He left us extremely well satisfied.

I must acknowledge, however, that it was paying very cheap for the friendship of a prince, whose protection is always so important! I made this remark to M. Delescluze, who seemed to regret his cotton

and his powder, reminding him that Telemachus also made presents to Menelaus.

This interview with Atioukaï made the Pacha acquainted with the fact that I had visited some ports of the Noutakhaitsis. He questioned me as to what I had there done, and asked whether I contemplated returning thither? Having replied that perhaps we might determine on doing so at a later period, it was easy to perceive that *Seïd Akhmet*, who began to perceive that the establishment of our commerce at Anapa might become advantageous to him, imagined how he could prevent our going anywhere else. He, however, offered me his protection among the Circassian princes, and proposed to me a Turk of Anapa, who had many Konaks, and from whom he would take pledges to accompany us safely along the whole coast.

The country to the south of Anapa offers but few productions: in order to collect together a considerable quantity it would be indispensable to spend there a great portion of the year, and to form on different points of the coast small depôts, which the vessels would themselves go to seek, or which might be collected, by means of the barks of the country, in the principal establishment. In this manner it

would be possible to procure ox hides of middle size, wax, honey, hare-skins, wild-boars, wolves, foxes, sables, jackals, deer, and chevreuil; rye, corn, maize, and different woods. The carriage of these productions is difficult, as they must cross very high mountains, on which one finds but narrow paths with hardly room for a horse to pass. Anapa, on the contrary, situated on the western shore of the fertile plains of the Kouban, receives with ease their productions and those of the northern side of the Caucasus. Since the fall of the Genoese possessions on "the Black Sea, the Circassians have no longer any relations, excepting with the Mahometans, and when, after the taking of the Crimea by the troops of Catherine II., the Turks came to found Anapa, they undertook to supply all their wants. No other point could divert the commerce from this route, established for more than half a century, with the exception, however, of the bay of Soudjouk-kale, situated thirteen miles to the south-east of Anapa, and whose valley communicates with the plains. It is only there also that a great European establishment ought to be formed, if one made a point of holding no intercourse with the Turks. Its anchorage is spacious and good. Formerly a small fort

was to be seen there, where the Turks kept a garrison. The Russians took possession of it in 1790, commanded by General Goudovitch; and in 1811, by the Duke de Richelieu. Restored to the Turks, at the peace of 1812, it has since remained unoccupied; and at the present day it offers to the view only a heap of ruins: at the bottom of the bay are seen some Circassian dwellings.

The commerce of Circassia seems to have considerably diminished during several years; the occupation of the place by the Russians, first of all contributing to this by interrupting, at different intervals, its relations with the people of the Caucasus, who easily submit to all sorts of privations. The incursions of the Tchernomortsi kossaks have also driven a great portion of the inhabitants of the plains into the mountains, or placed those who remain in a state of uneasiness, which is opposed to the development of their industry: in fine, the plague, which occasionally makes dreadful ravages in Circassia, together with the commerce in slaves, must necessarily diminish the productions of that country in carrying off a large proportion of its population.

Every day about five hundred Circassians enter

Anapa, bringing with them, on small carts, or oftener on horseback, different productions, which they come to exchange for objects which they stand in want of.

One must have the habit of this sort of business, and above all, uncommon patience, to deal with them; the greater part of these mountaineers bringing but very few things; for example, two hare skins, a small cheese, and a measure of corn: each man requires in exchange for this ten small objects which are necessary to him, and for which he may have travelled thirty leagues, in order to obtain them at Anapa. I have often seen similar bargains last whole days, during which the Circassian never failed to give a description of the chase in which the hare was killed; another, of the cow which had given the milk of which he had made his cheese; that of the field, the labours of tillage, the sowing and the reaping of the corn which he offered. It is useless to add after this, that strangers ought at first to prefer trading at Anapa, through the medium of the Turks alone, to whom one should abandon the advantage of treating directly with the Circassians.

Independently of the activity which daily affairs give to commerce, there are periods in the year in which it is considerably enlivened by the arrival of

large convoys of productions from the interior, which the Turks call *kérvène*, caravans; they arrive in April, August, and October. The first, which is that of the Kalmouiks, brings a quantity of hides of bulls, cows, buffaloes, hare skins, tallow, and wax. It is in the spring, particularly, that most business is transacted. Many of the Turks do not confine themselves to waiting in their fortress for the arrival of the Circassians; they also go into the mountains to sell their goods, and form small depôts at their konaks.

The site of Anapa and its neighbourhood formerly belonged to a small Circassian tribe, called *Skhegake*, whose prince, Mamet Ghereï-sane, who was rich, carried on commerce, and had ships in the Black Sea. It was in 1784 that the Turks built Anapa, to protect the Tatars, who had taken refuge on the left bank of the Kouban, and the Nogais, who inhabit the plains of that part of Circassia, and to preserve their former relations with the people of the Caucasus. From that time forward the productions of Circassia circulated through this new channel, as they formerly did through Taman and Temruk, which Russia had just occupied. In 1790 General Bibikow, with 8000 men, attempted to gain posses-

sion of Anapa, but he was obliged to recross the Kouban, after having lost the half of his forces. In 1791 General Goudovitch took Anapa by assault, after a campaign of three weeks. This place was at that time defended by 10,000 Turks and 15,000 mountaineers. Its artillery consisted of eighty-three pieces of cannon and nine mortars: its population was estimated at 5000 individuals. Russia soon restored Anapa to Turkey, as well as Soudjouk-kalé, which had been taken by the same general. On the 29th of April, 1807, the Russian squadron, amounting to five ships of the line, five frigates, two brigs, one fireship, and five gunboats, under the orders of the Marquis of Traversay and of Rear Admiral Poustochkine, appeared before Anapa, having on board four regiments of marines, commanded by General Govorow. On the 29th the attack lasted only two hours: the inhabitants and the garrison fled into the mountains; and the lieutenant of the "Névérousky," followed by some sailors, planted the Russian flag on the walls of Anapa, where they only found twenty men. A hundred pieces of cannon, a quantity of munitions of war, and two merchant vessels, fell into the hands of the victor. All the Turks, who had taken refuge among the Circas-

sians, were plundered by the Chapsoukes and the Noutkahaïtsis.

On the 6th of May the squadron set sail, leaving Anapa, deserted, after having in vain attempted to blow up the angles of its bastions. In 1809 Russia occupied it with some troops. In 1811 Soudjouk-kalé was taken by the Duke de Richelieu, and in 1812 the Treaty of Bukarest restored them both to the Turks. Certain parts of the walls of Anapa have an air of antiquity, which would lead me to suspect that there existed already, previous to the arrival of the Turks, some fortifications which may be attributed to a Genoese establishment, of which there are no longer any reminiscences. I should be rather inclined to think also, that at a still more distant period, the town of Sindone or Sindika occupied this same site. Besides two Greek inscriptions, and a great many medals which were found there during its occupation by the Russians, Arrian and Strabo support this hypothesis. The first of these geographers estimates the distance from Sindika to Pantacapæum at 540 stadia. At the present day, the distance from Anapa to Kertche is estimated at 46 miles, which, multiplied by 11 marine stadia, which Arrian most frequently makes use of, form

506 stadia. A certain resemblance between their names has contributed to assign Sindika as the site of Soudjouk-kalé: but one ought to have observed, that *Soudjouk-kale* or *Sooudjak-kalé* is a Turkish name, and that the Circassians, who ought to have kept that of Sindika, call Soudjouk-kalé *Tumusse*.

The fortress of Anapa is situated on a projecting crag of the last mountains of Circassia, called by the Turks Kizilkaïa; its surface is smooth, and slopes down a very extended plain, which is prolonged to the north and the east towards the Kouban. The walls of Anapa on the side of the sea are about four hundred and twenty-five yards long, and its entire circumference must be three-fourths of a league. To the south and west its walls rise from a calcareous, perpendicular rock, more than sixty yards high. To the north, towards the port, the shore falls; some bastions, and on the side of the plain, a ditch lined with stones, defend this fortress, which could not resist a European army. Its walls are mounted with numerous guns, amounting to eighty-five brass pieces of different calibre, amongst which are to be found several culverins: they had all been taken to Sevastopol by the Russians. It is impossible to form an idea of the miserable state of

these batteries; it would be impossible for them to fire more than three or four shots.

One-third of the ground inclosed within the walls of Anapa is occupied by about two hundred shops, and as many cabins of wood, hurdles, or mud. The population does not exceed, at the utmost, two thousand souls. The garrison, composed of some bad artillerymen, and some armed peasants of Anatolia, amounts at the present day to four hundred men. It is amusing to see them strolling through the streets, knitting worsted stockings, and carrying their guns slung by a rope behind their backs. The Pacha does not trust them much; and he has often been heard to say, that at the first appearance of the Russians he would surrender the place without resistance. A year ago, the sight of five vessels in the offing made the greater part of the population fly to the mountains.

The fortress of Anapa has some wells of very bad brackish water, which is not drunk; that which is used for this purpose is carried in barrels from a small river called Boughour, which, after having meandered in the plain, used thirteen years ago to discharge its waters into the sea at a third of a league from the walls of the place. Mounds of sand

have since formed at its mouth, and it is only in winter that it has the power of forcing a passage.

The population of Anapa may be divided into three classes; 1st, the inhabitants properly so called, distinguished by the name of Anapalis, born within the fortress, and sprung from Tatars or Turks allied with Circassian families; 2nd, of Turks from Constantinople or Anatolia, who, for the most part, come there only for the fine season: they are in general the clerks of some of the rich proprietors of their country; amongst them are to be found a number of vagabonds, who come to Anapa as a place of refuge; the 3rd class is that of the officers of the Pacha.

All these people have their Konaks in Circassia, which makes them almost independent of the Pacha. The most atrocious disorders arise from this source; those who commit them are rarely punished. When they are under any apprehension on this score, they have only to go out of Anapa, and at the foot of its walls to brave with insolence the threats of justice, which never fail to obtain their pardon through the mediation of their Konaks. The latter take advantage of this power in order to exact from their protégés presents which one never ventures to refuse

them. The possession of Anapa costs the Ottoman Porte considerable sums, which the commerce carried on there is far from repaying. Many Circassian families receive from it pensions, and it allows the Pacha about 130,000 piastres for his support, that of his suite, and the presents which he himself is obliged to make for his own security. The custom-house duties, which amount to from 15,000 to 40,000 piastres a year, are also assigned to him.

Some Rayahs* likewise come to Anapa. I found there nine Armenians and six Greeks, who had been established there for several years, or who were to go away at the end of the summer. They were occupied in different trades, and in a small business in which few among them had made any considerable profit. Several Russians, spread amongst the Mahomedan classes, add still further to the population of Anapa. The Pacha has many in his service. There are some who have been taken by the Circassians in their incursions on the right bank of the Kouban; others are deserters, who become the property of the first man who has met them on this

* By the word Rayah is meant every christian subject of the Sultan.

inhospitable soil. Sometimes they are embarked to be sold in Turkey.

In fine, one finds at Anapa a strange intermixture of all sorts of individuals; people of the Caucasus, or from more distant countries, among whom we may cite the Kalmouiks, the Komouks, the Kabardians, the Noghais, the Demirkapouis, the Daghistanians, the Boukharese, and the Kazanese. They bring their productions to the Turks, or come to embark for the pilgrimage to Mecca. I have never been able to explain to myself how many of them traverse the Russian possessions which separate them from Anapa.

In the morning of the 2nd of May a merchant brig belonging to the Pacha caught fire. We knew that if this had happened at night the captain of the vessel would have said that we had attempted to set fire to it, and the population of Anapa, whose imagination is excited by the accounts of the mischief done to the vessels of the Sultan by the Greek fire-ships, would not have hesitated to believe it, and would have driven us by cannon-shot from the road-stead. The Pacha himself assured me that he would have cut off the head of every man who had shown any interest in us. A part of the stern of the brig blew

up; some of her men were severely wounded, and they were brought on shore, where we were asked to attend them. During my stay in the Archipelago, other Turks had also obliged me to play the part of a surgeon, telling me that Christians, and particularly Franks, are endowed by the Divinity with the gift of medicine. Perhaps M. Gallina and I might have succeeded in saving one of the sailors, if there had been at Anapa any man who could bleed, or any leeches; but our researches were fruitless, and the wounded man was smothered in his blood. Notwithstanding this, our care produced an effect on the inhabitants, and we were very soon surrounded by people who asked our advice. Afterwards we were even called into the houses to heal women. We had the good fortune to succeed by extraordinarily simple means. Our reputation spread far and wide, and drew to Anapa a Tatar who was the Hippocrates of the country. He told us that he was come to pay homage to our talents, and to increase his knowledge from what we might be willing to impart to him. He added, that he owed all his own knowledge to a French physician under whom he served, a long time ago, in the Crimea.

The Pacha of Anapa having learned that I knew

Russian, charged me to translate to him some letters which he had lately received from several superior Russian officers, and to reply to them. The war continued to ravage the banks of the Kouban. In the month of February several engagements took place near the Afips, which flows into the Kouban, at a short distance from Ekaterinodar. The Russians burnt several villages there. On the 7th of May, Seid Akhmet received information that 3000 Circassian horsemen had in their turn made an incursion into the Kossack territory, and that they had returned, bringing with them a great many prisoners. The Pacha appeared extremely irritated against the princes who had directed this expedition; because, as he said, they compromised him with Russia, who suspected him of having instigated them. He assured me, however, that the Circassians were rarely the aggressors; but that as they were incessantly excited by hostile demonstrations, it was with difficulty that he could restrain them. I then spoke to him of the pacific intentions of Russia, and of the commercial relations which she was desirous of establishing with the Circassians, and particularly along their coasts. "Oh, you know all about this," he said! "And do you suppose then that that

power really desires to carry on commerce with the Circassians? She wishes to subdue them, as she has subdued the Tatars, the Georgians, the Mingrelians, for what does she care for the friendship of poor unimportant tribes?" "Russia," I replied, "hopes thereby to engage them to make their shores hospitable, and to respect her frontiers, whose inhabitants are unceasingly exposed to predatory inroads. If her troops sometimes make war against the tribes, on the borders of the Kouban, or on the road from Mozdok to Tefflis, it is because they are persuaded that the attractions of commerce can have no influence over their turbulent dispositions; that the same man who comes to exchange his productions at the market of Ekaterinodar reappears, a moment afterwards, leading away Russian subjects into the mountains." The Pacha had some difficulty in pleading the cause of the Circassians, who often come to carry off his horses in the plain of Anapa, and amongst whom, even the Turks, who have so long supplied all their wants, never dare venture without having good guarantees. Seid Akhmet turned the conversation to the attempts made by Russia to form establishments on the coasts. "That will never succeed," he said; "I have known those

who were occupied in this undertaking. They are merely clerks, who endeavoured to draw to Pchiate, or elsewhere, some Jewish and Armenian merchants, who only bring salt, and all of whom return very ill-treated. They will do nothing; the coast is poor, and it is only at Anapa that any profit is to be gained. This place is well situated, and the Circassians are sure of finding there every thing needful. The Russian commerce on the coast only serves to enrich Indar Oglou: his companions are jealous, and suspect him of treason; but I am certain that this prince is not very devoted to the Russians. If you go into the Crimea, repeat what I have told you; and assure them that Seid Akhmet has never sought to oppose any obstacles to the commerce of the Russians, for which he offers the use of his fortress, where they may come and traffic in safety and with advantage." It was easy for me to observe that the Pacha would rather prefer seeing Russians neither on the coast nor in his fortress; but it is not less certain that Russia ought to come to Anapa itself, to sap the preponderance of the Turks over the Caucasus. Nothing would be easier, if the government itself undertook it, and entrusted the execution of it to persons worthy of its confidence. I am per-

suaded that, at the end of two years, not a single Turkish merchant would remain at Anapa; and that all of them would have become brokers or agents of the Russian houses of business. This establishment ought to be protected by a Consul, who would have under his orders a small vessel of war to maintain relations with the coast of the Crimea and of Circassia.

Sometimes quarrels arise between the Turks and the Circassians, which disturb the tranquillity of Anapa, and even its commerce. Frequently the cause would scarcely occupy a portion of a town among a civilized people: for example: some artillery men of the garrison had abused the confidence of a Circassian, by violating his wife: several districts had sworn to be revenged, and told the Pacha that they would attack all the Turks that they met, until they had received a reparation proportioned to the enormity of the insult: they added, that war did not alarm them; and that if the Turks had a fortress, they had that of their mountains. The culprit had been put in prison by the Pacha until his sentence had been pronounced. He was to be condemned to pay a fine of arms, pieces of cloth, and cattle.

On this occasion, a Circassian remarked to me,

that the Turks are lost in sloth, and that they would be unable to defend Anapa against the slightest attack from the Russians, if it were not that 20,000 Circassian horsemen would fly to their succour. "These Turkish soldiers," he said, "are not worth three paras. We, however, are *Franikes*, active, warlike, and fond of glory." He then invited me to go with him to see a great number of stones, which are still to be seen in the mountains, with inscriptions, which attest, he said, the origin of the Circassians, and for which they entertain the highest respect. It was impossible for me to make this excursion, however interesting, because my presence at Anapa was indispensable.

On the 16th of May I made the acquaintance of an Armenian, from Russia, who had come to receive money owed to him by some Turkish merchants. He had travelled through the interior to buy hare skins, which he had sent to Taganrock. He paid for them in rubles and silver thread. He told me that there are districts entirely inhabited by Armenians, who only differed from the Circassians by their professing the Christian religion. There are priests among them; but I was unable to learn anything of their origin. I was extremely anxious to

go and visit them in person. How advantageous it would be to employ them in endeavouring to develope in Circassia the precious germs of Christianity which exist there! It would be a grand work for a minister of the religion of Jesus, and might serve as a powerful means, or as the only means, of pacifying the Caucasus. During my first voyages to Circassia I was deeply occupied with a similar project; and on leaving the Netherlands I should have wished to take with me a small statue of the Virgin, to present it to the Circassians, under the name of their *Merissa;* for I am of opinion that Christianity ought not to be presented to these people as a foreign religion, but as their own, illustrated, explained, and directed to a more moral and elevated end.

This Armenian was the bearer of a paper, by which some Russian authorities commissioned him to collect information respecting the fate of Lieutenant Gounali and his crew, who were taken in the transport "the Raphael," by the Circassians, in 1818, in returning from Redout-kali to Kertche.

A Tatar of the Crimea arrived on the 17th of May with Morocco leather of *Karasoubazar,* shoes and other objects, which he came to sell or to ex-

change for Circassian products. Some other Tatars, attracted by this small commerce, come also every year to Anapa. This man brought the news of peace between Turkey and Persia, of the submission of the Morea, and of the payment of some millions which the *seven Ghiaour* sovereigns were to pay to the Sultan. The Pacha sent for me to ask my opinion of these matters. I told him that I did not believe the two last pieces of news, and this led to a prolonged conversation with regard to the extent, the population, and the forces of the states of each of the seven sovereigns, as well as of their influence over the rest of Europe. I then felt the same embarrassment towards Seid Akhmet that I had felt the year before on the coast of Asia Minor with the Pacha of Scala Nova. Their most complete ignorance of geography often rendered me unintelligible. Nevertheless, with the aid of a map, I succeeded at last in making him understand something. Nothing was more amusing than to see all his officers with their hands crossed over their chests, their necks stretched forward, occupied in anxiously following the point of my finger; they looked upon every state, painted in a different colour, as emblematic figures. Russia, which was painted green, having

Turkey painted red at its feet, scandalized them; they testified their indignation to each other in a low voice, and in order to undeceive them, I explained to the Pacha that there was a southern part, which it had been agreed upon to place at the top of the map, and another at the bottom. This scene became the more ludicrous when we came to the population. His Excellency did not know what a million was. I found myself obliged to make him count ten times a hundred thousand with his ten fingers. His attendants perceiving his embarrassment, counted also; but this ended in nothing, and every one looking at his two hands, ended by exclaiming, *Tchok* (a great deal!)

It was the season of the Ramazan, the grand fast of the Mahometans, during which they abstain, from the rising of the sun to its going down, from sleeping, eating, drinking, and even smoking. In the fortresses, sunset is announced to the inhabitants by firing a gun; they wait with impatience, surrounded by the objects of which they are most in need, such as glasses of water, cups of coffee, bread, pipes, &c.; as soon as the sound of the gun is heard, they all begin to move; they eat, drink, smoke, go to mosque, return to dinner, and finally pass the night

in satisfying their wants and fortifying themselves against the privations which are to recommence on the following day.

On the 18th of May, the day of Pentecost, the Captain of the "Petit Auguste" fired a gun whilst hoisting his flag at eight o'clock in the morning; I had previously informed the Pacha, who had willingly granted his permission. In the evening the flag was taken down, and another gun fired; but the sun was not yet entirely below the horizon, and the Turks, who had mistaken the gun for that of the fortress, began immediately to eat. What was their astonishment, when a few minutes afterwards their own gun was heard! They ran to the ramparts to inquire, and to learn that the Ghiaours had fired the first gun, and that it was doubtless in order to deceive the faithful, and to turn into ridicule the law of the Prophet. Some fanatics proposed to come on board and revenge themselves; and they would have done so, if their courage had been equal to their ardour. The Pacha, who had not been so precipitate as the others, had not ceased to fast until the regular signal: he gaily received the complaints of the population, whose fury he with difficulty appeased. We ourselves, the innocent cause of so

great a crime, landed the next morning without the slightest suspicion, when Ali came to meet us with a troubled air, and said to me, "But what did you do yesterday? You made us all eat before sunset. The inhabitants will not forgive you." "But, my dear Ali," replied I, "for whom, in the name of Heaven, do you really take me? For, according to your Anapalese, I am at one time a Russian spy come to seize your fort; at another, a Greek come to set your ships on fire; and to-day you doubtless call me some evil spirit of Christendom, come to Anapa to turn Mahomet into ridicule by making the faithful eat before their appointed time. Indeed, all this is too absurd! I have told you, my friend, that I do not belong to this country, and that those who do are savages, who have never seen anything." Upon this he told me of the fatal gun. I laughed heartily with him; but, perceiving that very serious consequences might ensue, I begged him to explain how all this had happened, and I went with him to several coffee-houses, where I laboured to prove our entire innocence. At first I was received with violent murmurs: I was fortunate enough to calm them by degrees, and I thought I had nothing further to apprehend, when two days afterwards, whilst

walking at the end of the street of shops, where I had not yet dared to show myself since my arrival, I heard myself challenged in a very abrupt manner, by a man whom I did not know. I advanced towards him to learn what he wanted. He then put his hand to his dagger, crying to me—" Withdraw, or I kill thee, dog of a Ghiaour; spy, who art come to ridicule the Mussulmans!" Some other Turks sought to appease him, and advised me to return. I did so in order not to expose myself uselessly to something still more serious, and I went to complain to the Pacha, who treated the man with violence. He was one of the principal inhabitants of Anapa.

On the 23rd, seven Russians escaped at break of day with a boat of the Captain of the Port. I was surprised at seeing that we were not suspected of having connived at their escape, and that our relations with the inhabitants suffered no prejudice. These prisoners steered to the south along the coast, and were retaken at a short distance beyond Pchiate, by the Circassians, who kept them.

Since the commencement of our barter, I had been almost continually on shore with M. Gallina; we there cooked our meals, which were in general very bad; but the mode of cooking was so incon-

venient, that I was obliged to look out for some more comfortable means. An old Armenian, named Balthasar, to whom I had imparted my wishes, spoke to me of one of his companions to whom we might go, and he proposed to us to conduct us thither, an offer which we joyfully accepted. Our route was mysterious; we were obliged to pass up the street, and having reached a small door, Balthasar gave a certain number of knocks, which had been agreed upon, and it was opened by an old man of sixty, with hollow cheeks and a short beard. We entered it by stealth, and it was immediately barricaded within, as well as another door which opened on the street. We then found ourselves shut up in a small stone house, blackened with smoke, which was only lighted by small windows, covered with cobwebs. Our manner of surveying it was looked upon by our host as a symptom of apprehension, and this made him dispel our anxiety by making several signs of the cross whilst repeating to us *Khristos*. He was enchanted with hearing us repeat the word, and began cheerfully to roast some smoked tongues and to prepare a pilaf. We invited him to partake of our fare, to which he acceded; and some glasses of rum from a bottle which M. Gallina had brought in

his pocket, made us the best friends in the world. This scene, worthy of the primitive ages of Christianity, made us meditate for a long time on the astonishing power produced by the same faith over men at the foot of the Caucasus. The sign of the cross, and the name of *Khristos* had united at the same table, and as members of the same family, an Armenian of Amazia, another from Synope, an Italian from Ravenna, and a Dutchman, and had banished from amongst them every kind of suspicion and anxiety. We continued to go and dine with this man, who became our restaurateur.

Prince Noghaï, the son of Indar-kou, arrived at Anapa on the 24th of May, accompanied by M. Tausch, one of the Commissioners maintained by the Russians at Pchiate. I speak of both of them in the narrative of my first journeys in Circassia. I had much pleasure in seeing them again; Noghaï, who presented himself as our Konak, excused himself for not having sooner come to see me, and inquired whether I had not to complain of the Anapalese? I informed him of their suspicions, and of the difficulties which I had encountered on my arrival. This excited his fury against the Pacha, and I had much difficulty in preventing him from going

to maltreat them. I succeeded, however, by observing to him, that I had not announced myself as the host of any man, and that furthermore he would only indispose the Pacha towards me, by making him understand that I had complained of him. He exacted from me a promise that I would send him an express on the first annoyance to which I might be again exposed.

Noghaï was anxious to see the brig, and he there declared himself to be the Konak of all the persons who composed the crew. M. Delescluze, in recalling Atioukhai to his recollection, felt that it was useless to wait until a present was demanded of him, and ordered them to prepare a gun-barrel, some powder, cotton goods, and some other small trifles, which Noghaï received with pleasure. He went on shore to pass the night, and M. Tausch, with whom I was very anxious to speak, remained on board until the next morning. I learnt from him that the devastation produced, during the last five years in New Russia, by the locusts, had engaged some Karaïm, or Armenian Jew speculators, to come and look for corn on the coast of Circassia, whither they had brought salt from Kertche. The return cargoes were principally composed of rye, the sale of which

in the Crimea offers a handsome profit. This occupied three or four small vessels under the Russian flag; but as soon as the harvest shall succeed in the government of Tauris, or the remainder of New Russia shall be able to furnish its own consumption, this commerce can no longer be maintained. To the rye had been added some small portions of wax and furs. Notwithstanding the small importance of this business, it has not the less served to keep up the hope of conciliating the friendship of the Circassians by commercial relations; and the Russian government, on the representation of M. Scassi, has sent valuable presents to Prince Mehmet Indar-kou, who always figures as the great protector of the Russians in Circassia.

M. Tausch had made, during the winter, a journey into the country of the Abazekhs, known by the Europeans under the name of Abazia. He thinks it richer than that of the Noutakhaïtsis, and he has assured me that a stranger, who should receive recommendations there from Indar-kou, would not fail to be exceedingly well received. They told him of the existence in that country of many old buildings, reputed to be holy places, containing sacred books, figures, and ornaments of great value. They

serve as an asylum to criminals, whom no one dares to tear away from them. They are, doubtless, churches, which we know exist among the Abazians, and which attest the residence of Christians among them. According to what M. Tausch told me, it seems that there are also several precious remains of antiquity, such as bas-reliefs, statues, inscriptions, remains of friezes and columns. It is unfortunate that M. Tausch did not try to ascertain the existence of such deeply-interesting objects.

He showed me some medals of the kings of the Bosphorus, and told me that in the neighbourhood of Pchiate a great many silver ones had been found in a vase, but that he only knew of it too late, after they had all been melted by the Circassians. With a taste for these precious monuments of the people, and the commerce of antiquity, it would doubtless be not only easy to obtain all those that are discovered by accident in tilling the ground, but that one might also engage several of these inhabitants to occupy themselves exclusively with looking for them.

I have spoken, in my first journey in Circassia, of some mountains remarkable for their forms, or the noxious exhalations which issue from them. M. Tausch heard it said, in his journey, that there is

one very elevated mountain in the high Caucasus, perhaps Elbrouz, which contains a frightful gulf, where sometimes loud sounds of chains and groans are heard. The Abazes relate that a man of their tribe said, that he had descended into it, and had there found a huge giant, who said to him, "Oh, thou, inhabitant of earth, who art come to visit me, what is going on above? Is the grass ever verdant there? Does peace reign in the families? Is the wife there faithful to her husband; the daughter obedient to her mother; the son to his sire?" The Circassian having replied in the affirmative, he said, "It is well; I am doomed to dwell here yet a long time."

This fable has a certain affinity with that of Prometheus, the traces of which I have been glad to find in the very country where the poets of antiquity had placed it. It proves to us that that personage must have had an historical origin, on which it would, perhaps, be possible to throw some light by carefully visiting the high chain of the Caucasus.

I inquired of M. Tausch some news of the family of Indar Oglou, and I learned with pain that the wife of that prince had lately died. A Chapsoukhe prince bargained for his daughter Goache, but the price

which he asked appeared too low. Tchapsine, whom I had known very young, was renowned among the Noutakhaïtsis for her skill in the accomplishments of her sex, and mothers cited her as an example to their daughters. Islamgheri had been surnamed the Sage, and he was often chosen to judge important matters. Kaspolete followed in the footsteps of his brother Noghaï, and had already distinguished himself in perilous incursions. Moïssé, the youngest of the sons of Indar Oglou, fourteen years old, had already carried off several head of cattle and horses: finally, a child, Noghaï, eight years old, had stolen two goats. "Oh," exclaimed M. Tausch, "everything promises to the house of Indar Oglou honours, power, and a long series of prosperity!" This exclamation having excited my risibility, M. Tausch recollected that he was speaking to a stranger, and he said, "You have travelled a great deal since we met in this country; you have always been among civilized nations, and I forgot that different ideas prevail there with regard to what constitutes honour, and many things depend on the more or less brilliant frame in which they are set. I am certain, however, that even at Paris you have sometimes regretted the valley of Pchiate; that at

the gilded portals of the Tuileries you have sighed for the humble roof of the cabin of Prince Indarkou; and that in the saloons of that capital of the civilized world, where art unceasingly veils nature from our view, you have sometimes longed to be transported to our forests, and to assist at our fêtes." M. Tausch was right.

In my narrative of my first travels in Circassia I have said that this agent had resided in that country from the age of sixteen; some circumstances had engaged him to quit M. Scassi, when I ceased to command the schooner the "Circassian." He then lived nearly three years with his relations in the Crimea, unceasingly regretting his adopted country. At the end of this interval his former chief wished to attach him again to the commercial relations with Circassia, for which he was indispensable, and he seized with transport the opportunity of returning thither. They had associated with him a colleague of the name of M. Molfino, a Genoese sailor. Moudrov, who in 1818 had carried off a young girl from Pchiate, had been compelled to abandon her, to return into the Crimea.

M. Tausch left us on the morning of the 25th, after dinner; he immediately commenced his journey

with Noghaï towards the Boughaze, where he was to have an interview with some Russian functionaries.

I perceived that this visit of Noghaï, and what he doubtless told the Anapalese about me, added to the consideration which I had at last succeeded in obtaining. Some merchants came to assure me that the friend of Noghaï would always find in them the most zealous defenders. A Circassian prince, of the name of *Naourousse-Okou Devlet-Mourza*, who had distinguished himself in the wars against the Russians, and who enjoys a high reputation in the neighbourhood of Anapa, solicited my friendship, telling me that he was the cousin of Noghaï, and that he regretted not having sooner made my acquaintance, because he might, perhaps, have been able to be of use to me.

During the month, in which I had had daily intercourse with the Circassians, I had succeeded in collecting a great many words, in order to make myself understood; but it is extraordinary, that on my arrival at Anapa, there were very few of those, of which I had formerly composed a small vocabulary, which were understood; and when I wanted to correct the orthography, I changed twenty times the same let-

ters for the same syllable, although I paid the utmost attention to the pronunciation of the Circassians. This difficulty is met with in the greater part of their words: I attribute this to the fact, that as the people have no letters, the sounds which they make use of to form their words, are by no means settled, and are consequently articulated lightly, and in a vague manner, which may be imitated by the voice, but which cannot in any way be represented by letters. The Turks, to give an idea of this, relate that the Sultan had sent a learned man to travel, in order to learn all the languages of the earth, and that on his return, when he told him that he did not know Circassian, the learned man drew from his pocket a small sack filled with pebbles, which he began to shake, saying that it was only in this manner that one could imitate the sounds of that singular language.

Although the Circassian productions accumulated every day more and more at Anapa, and our exchanges became more and more considerable, we determined on preparing for our departure, since the period for our rendezvous with the "Triton" in the harbour of Theodosia had arrived. I made a visit for this purpose to the Pacha, to ask him for the papers of the "Petit Auguste." He ordered

them to be prepared, and a certificate to be given attesting how well satisfied he had been with my conduct, as well as with the commerce which I wished to try and establish in the fortress. He reproached me with not having come oftener to see him, and addressed many questions to me on the state and politics of the principal countries of Christendom. On the following day I had occasion to put his justice to the test. The Toufektchi-Bachi, who, as I have already said, performed the functions of head of the police, having been insolent to Ali-Aga, who had charged him to pay for several articles that he had bought of us, and which he wished to have for nothing, besides a great many presents which we had made to him, I complained of him to the Pacha; the latter summoned him immediately to his presence, and after having horribly ill-treated him in my presence, ordered him to pay to the custom-house the entrance and export dues, which amounted to a sum equal to that which he owed us. Some Armenians had done everything in their power to induce me to sacrifice this sum, painting to me the resentment of a Toufektchi-Bachi in the most formidable colours; but this only induced me the more to prove

to the inhabitants of Anapa the difference between ourselves and a Rayah; and in Turkey, above all, where everything is habit, one must assign to oneself the place one chooses to occupy.

On the 1st of June a considerable number of Circassians came again to demand satisfaction for the insult that some artillerymen had offered to their women. The Anapalese were very much alarmed, and offered 1200 piastres, or the culprit to be sold, but the affair could not be concluded.

I had taken leave of the Pacha, and only thought of setting sail, when, at ten o'clock in the evening, Ali-Aga came to me in the utmost haste, to beg that I would go to him, to translate a letter which he had just received from the right bank of the Kouban. It was said in it that a great assemblage of Russian soldiery had been seen there, and they seemed at Anapa to dread an attack, which Seïd-Akhmet had no desire to resist. The whole population of Anapa were a prey to a panic terror. I hastened to calm their fears as soon as I had read the letter, which had been written by a Russian general in a very civil tone, and which was confined to asking an exchange of some deserters. The Pacha, who had possession

of them, and who would not give them up, replied to the general, that they had all escaped in the boat of the captain of the port.

On the 2nd of June, in the afternoon, we finally set sail, with a fine easterly wind. We passed the next day at sea, and on the 4th cast anchor in the port of Theodosia.

VOYAGE TO REDOUT-KALÉ, TREBIZOND, PCHIATE, AND ANAPA.

I SET sail again from Theodosia, with the "Petit Auguste," on the 6th of July, to go and visit a great part of the Asiatic coasts. On the 7th we remained before Anapa, Soudjouk-Kale, Ghélendjik, and Itokopaskhe, and at sunset we made out Pchiate to the south-east, distant about eight miles. The view of all these spots vividly recalled to me the circumstances which attended the first voyages which I had made to them: leaning against the rigging, I fixed my eyes upon them, and my imagination wandered over the mountains and among the forests, in the midst of this savage population, which had formerly so deeply occupied my attention.

To the south of Pchiate we steered further from the shore in order that our speed might not be

retarded by the current, which along the coast sets strongly to the north. On the 11th, at six o'clock in the evening, we anchored before Kopi (Redout-Kalé,) at three-quarters of a league from the coast. After having landed there some merchandise for Georgia, we quitted that horrible roadstead on the afternoon of the 18th. The next day we discovered Batoum at the foot of a white cliff, commanded by very high mountains. On the 21st we were near a promontory situated at about thirty-six miles from Batoum; further on, the coast retires and forms a sort of gulf with Cape Oros of Trebizond. I loved to contemplate this country, where formerly existed a second Athens; and I should have been glad to be able to land there, to discover the traces of that fertile daughter of Pericles; extinct, like an illustrious exile, far from the azure sky of her fathers, her tomb is surrounded by misery and oblivion: she will still long resound with the chains and the cries of the barbarians, whilst the heavenly banner waves on the Parthenon. We who had seen Athens emancipated from her fetters, smiling with hope, were affected by painful feelings; we wished by displaying our flag in the air to signalize these spots adorned by a celebrated name, of which, doubtless, we alone

on those shores then knew the whole prestige; it was a homage paid to the city of Minerva—some flowers strewed on the tomb of her daughter.

We anchored on the evening of the 23rd at Trebizond; my stay in that town lasted eighteen days. I had the pleasure of making there the acquaintance of M. de Saint André, the French Consul, whom I had often heard mentioned in Greece, which he had quitted a little before me, and of MM. Masson and Beucher, his chancellor and his dragoman. They were at that time the only Europeans who inhabited Trebizond. We set sail on the evening of the 10th of August to go to Pchiate. On the 14th the gigantic masses of the Caucasus appeared to our right: they were traversed by clouds in four or five places, and seemed to form so many aërial islands. On the 17th we discovered at noon a sail, very near the shore, which stood out to sea; we afterwards ascertained that it was not a Circassian boat; but as we were aware that small boats belonging to the Lazes are often lent there at the request of the Circassians for the purpose of plundering the vessels which navigate their coasts, we loaded our guns and stood prepared for defence. These preparations were useless, for the Turkish vessel which had given rise

to them, passed us very pacifically after sunset, and replied to our *oghourollah* (good luck to you), with which I saluted it.

The opinion entertained of the Circassian pirates is exaggerated: the description which I give of their boats in my first voyages to Circassia, suffices to prove that they cannot keep far from the coast, nor resist the effect of the smallest gun. I am certain that with two guns well served, and some muskets, it would be easy for a vessel to brave the attack of several of them. The Circassians, in order to shelter them from the weather, place them in rivulets, or draw them up on the shore; and in order not to expose them to the heat of the sun, which would contribute to destroy them, they carefully fill them with water, or cover them with leaves. Some authors have ridiculously supposed that this is a precaution in order to prevent their being seen by the vessels which they are destined to surprise. It would be difficult and dangerous to pursue these boats into their places of concealment; besides, their destruction would be of very little advantage, if those who are on board of them were not at the same time punished. In order to attain this end, it would be necessary to entice them to sea by the sight of a

vessel which would be disguised in a manner to leave no warlike appearance whatever, and which would cannonade them at the first signal. This means, which is certainly not a new one, would in a very short time secure the tranquillity of every vessel which approached the Circassian coast.

I here subjoin what Strabo says of the Circassian pirates of antiquity, and of the different populations of that coast, where they abounded even then. This description might almost entirely apply to those of the present day: "The Akheï, the Zykhes, and the Emokhes, who inhabit the coast of Circassia, after the Asiatic Meotians and Ghorghypie, carry on piracy in small boats made of planks, thin, narrow, and light, carrying twenty-five and rarely thirty men; they are called *kamara*; sometimes the masters of the Cimmerian Bosphorus protect them by procuring for them secret harbours, a market, and the display of their booty. On returning to their country, where the boats have no shelter*, they place these kamara on their shoulders, and carry them far from the coast, into the woods, which they seem to inhabit in preference to the plains, of which the soil

* If by shelter is meant anchorage, this is incorrect, since Circassia has several, and especially for boats.

is bad. They bring these boats back to the shore when the season favourable to navigation arrives; they do the same on foreign shores: they secure these marshy spots for the purpose of drawing up their kamara; they then emerge by day and by night, to make slaves: but when they have taken any prisoners, they readily consent to their ransom, and indicate to their parents the spot whither the captives have been transported.

"Amongst those of these tribes which are governed by their own princes, the stranger who is ill-treated might find some support. One tribe would protect him against another, for they often wage war among themselves, and capture the kamaras of their enemy as well as their crews."

On the 18th I came on deck at four o'clock in the morning; to reconnoitre the anchorage of Pchiate, to which we were very near; two leagues, at most, separated us from the coast, which was covered by no clouds; it was really a magnificent spectacle to see that chain of majestic mountains becoming successively illuminated by the sun which rose behind them. I found that we were off Toughe, which is situated at about twenty miles from Pchiate; it is a

very small anchorage, and in its semicircular form is nearly three-quarters of a mile in diameter. One must keep at the distance of a cable's length from the two points at its entrance, where there are shoals, and anchor between them, in ten and a half or eleven fathom water, with a mud bottom. I doubt not that the interior of the creek offers a better anchorage. At Toughe one finds a considerable population, which makes the exchanges easy. This point of the coast, and another called Chapsoukaï, corresponds with that of the ancient Akhaïa of Arrian, which he places at 830 stadia from Sindika. Towards eight o'clock I remarked a small low cape, and further on, another, which terminated the coast; on advancing further, I perceived on the latter some pines; a short time afterwards, a post, the shape of which was not unknown to me. The cliffs which border the coast of Circassia were no longer red, but white; at last a small bay opened on the view. I there saw a tomb surmounted by a roof, a valley, a wood—it was Pchiate! My heart beat at the sight of the first country where my ambition had hoped to find an extraordinary career, which long afterwards formed the subject of my dreams. I knew too, that my

appearance there formed an epoch; that I should again find there my remembrance strongly imprinted in the memory of some thousands of individuals, whilst my stay amongst civilized men had been unknown, and my portrait perhaps scarcely recalled the features of my countenance to those who were my most intimate friends.

We cast anchor at nine o'clock, by the side of a small vessel, under a Russian flag, which had been forced to quit precipitately the anchorage of Toughe, in order not to be attacked by the enemies of his Konak. A Greek from Kertche, who commanded it, came to see me, and told me, that he had learned that the population of the valley of Pchiate was itself far from tranquil; divided into two parties, the one which inhabited the left side of the river was opposed to Indar Kou; and on the arrival of the strangers many pistol and musket shots had been fired the evening before, and it was by no means prudent to land. But as I wished to go on shore, I clothed myself in the Circassian dress which I had received five years before at Pchiate, and which had since followed me through a great portion of old Europe. I covered my head with a hood, which served as a pattern at Bruges for the head-dress of

the statue of John Van Eick.* I armed myself with a dagger and a pistol, and set out with four sailors. Several horsemen came to meet me at the mouth of the river which I prepared to ascend. One of them told me he was M. Molfino, a Russian agent, associated with M. Tausch. He informed me that the latter was ill, and Prince Indar Kou absent, as well

* On seeing certain portraits of the fifteenth century, I have been always surprised at the great resemblance which I found between the costume of that age and that of the Tatars and Circassians of the present day. The head-dresses, especially, are perfectly similar; the fashion of them must have been spread over Europe, when the commerce of a great part of Asia was carried on by the Caspian Sea, Bokhara, Novogorod, Scherdig, and Wisby, enriched Germany, and formed there that kind of association, so well known under the name of the Hanseatic League. When I was at Bruges, in 1821, I dressed myself as a Circassian, to please a party to which I had been invited in the evening. I put on the Circassian hood, of which I tied the knots behind, after having wound them round my head. Scarcely had I entered the room when I heard a person exclaim, "Here is the head-dress of John Van Eick!" He approached me, examined my hood, and told me that, charged to make a statue of that painter, which was to ornament the square of the Academy of Painting at Bruges, his native country, he had been very much embarrassed to guess the kind of cap with which he was represented in his portrait, and which he found on my head. I offered it to him, and he invited me to go to him to dress the model of the head of the statue of the inventor of painting in oils. I did so, with the greater pleasure, as this sculptor, a gentleman of the name of Caloigne, was an excellent artist, and possessed several accomplishments.

as his sons Noghaï and Islam Ghéri; but that Kaspolete and Mossé were at his house with their sisters. M. Molfino having signified to me his wish to go on board, I did not disembark, and he came and passed the whole of the rest of the day with us.

Since 1818, the storehouses of Pchiate had been three times burnt; the commissioners, as well as the merchants there, were incessantly molested; and the vessels taken, or threatened to be taken, even by the Noutakhaïtsis. As I have already said above, the dearth with which the Crimea had been afflicted, in consequence of the locusts, had engaged several merchants of that peninsula, Karaïm Jews or Armenians, attracted by what they had been told, to try and export rye from Soudjouk-kalé, Ghélendjik, Pchiate, and Toughe: some among them were ruined. There only remained two, one of whom was still struggling with his bad fortune, and the other concealed his misery at Pchiate.

The Russian Government, which, however, continued to take an interest in commercial relations with the Circassians, had made valuable presents to many of their princes, and particularly to Indar Kou, who had received from the Emperor Alexander a magnificent dagger, enriched with precious stones.

Nevertheless, he and his sons Noghaï and Islam Ghéri formed, during my stay at Pchiate, part of an expedition against the Tchernomortsi Kossacks.

M. Tausch arrived in the evening, after having suffered from a fit, which had weakened him very much; he told me that I was expected by the young princesses, who wished to see their old friend, *the captain*. We set out the next morning to go and see them: at a short distance from the shore, I found three magazines, filled with salt, nearly in the same spot which had been occupied by those which I saw in 1818. A small house, constructed by the side of them and surrounded by tufted trees, belonged to that Matapkhe whom the commissioner Moudrov carried off some time before my first voyage to Circassia. This event had, at that time, disturbed the valley of Pchiate; afterwards Moudrov received orders to return to the Crimea; he obeyed them, and abandoned his love, at the moment when she was about to make him a father. This departure very much displeased the Circassians, and especially the family of Matapkhe, who had received no part of the sum which they had agreed upon, and who showed their resentment in a manner to induce Indar Kou to write to Russia to have it paid; but this had

not yet been done. The unfortunate Matapkhe gave birth to a son, who was called *Krimbeï* (Prince of Crimea). Abandoned by her parents, despised by her countrywomen, this poor woman lived on charity. M. Tausch had rendered her a service, in building for her the house which she lived in, and where I went to visit her. As soon as she saw me, she ran to meet me, and manifested the highest delight and respect: the sight of me had recalled those dreams of happiness which had occupied her thoughts five years before, and the hope of again seeing him who had given them birth, probably beamed again before her eyes. One of the two rooms in her cabin was occupied by the Armenian who represented, at Pchiate, the whole of the foreign commerce. This neighbourhood gave rise to much gossip with regard to Matapkhe, who was still very pretty, and, as it was said, susceptible.

Some remains of a vessel attracted my attention, and I learned with pain that they were those of the schooner, "The Circassian," which I had built and commanded, and which perished at Pchiate in 1819. Its captain was the officer of whom I have often made mention in my first voyage; he had the happiness of saving himself with all his crew, and Indar

Kou made them travel quietly through the country of the Noutakhaïtsi to go to Russia; the Pacha of Anapa also contributed to assist them.

Kaspolète and Mossé, accompanied by nobles and vassals, soon arrived at the magazines to conduct them to their homes; all of them testified the joy, which they felt at seeing me again, with an air of sincerity which affected me. During my stay at Pchiate, I often had the pleasure of remarking that its inhabitants were still very much attached to me. In traversing the valley I observed several habitations deserted or in ruins, the proprietors of which had died of the plague in 1820. This scourge had, as usual, been introduced into Circassia by the commerce of the Turks of Anapa; Indar Oglou escaped by establishing a quarantine at his house, where nobody was attacked.

The two daughters of this prince, Goacha and Tchapsine, received me as an old friend; the eldest made me sit down by her side, and constantly held one of my hands within her own. In 1818, I had been deprived of this mark of friendship, which I was surprised to see at that time given to M. Tausch. Tchapsine was in bed in the room where we were received, suffering from a fever, for which I sent her,

the next day some rhubarb, which completely cured her. In the middle of the room was spread a small carpet, by the side of which was placed a pair of slippers and a candlestick; in memory of the mother of those princesses, who had died several months before; these things were to remain there until an entire year had elapsed. Those, who for the first time entered this apartment, were obliged to strike their breasts and utter deep moans. My title of stranger exempted me from showing these manifestations of grief.

Gvacha inquired after the lady who came with me to Pchiate in 1818; and she hastened also to show me the dagger which the Emperor Alexander had sent to her father, and which several Circassians had come from a great distance to see.

A repast was served up to us, very late, in the cabin of MM. Tausch and Molfino, where we spent the night. We did not leave the princesses and these gentlemen until the following morning.

Between the habitation of Indar Kou and the shore there are some buildings which I went to see; they are six in number, and appeared very ancient; each of them was composed of five great stones, four of which laid horizontally, formed a

parallelogram, and one placed flatly above them served as a covering, and overlapped them on all sides. These singular monuments are about twelve feet long and nine wide: the earth which has been heaped up around them prevents their real height being known. The stones are fourteen inches thick. The one which forms the façade is placed two feet back, between the two lateral ones, and thus forms a sort of open vestibule. This same stone has also, in its lower part, a round opening, which is at most feet in diameter.

The Circassians say that giants constructed these singular monuments, in order to shelter from the inclemency of the weather a small race of men, who then inhabited their country, and who wanted the strength necessary to build houses there; the arms upon them were hares. Such is the fabulous tradition; but I believe that these monuments, which are still well preserved, have served as tombs for some race which inhabited the Caucasus at a very remote period. A certain analogy between them and the temple of Onga, seen by Fourmont in Laconia, near the ruins of Amyclæa, reminds us that the Heniokhes were a people originally from Laconia, which was conducted into the Caucasus by the cha-

rioteers of Castor and Pollux, and which must have established themselves not far from Pchiate*.

On our arrival on the shore, the sailors of the boat, who were waiting for us in the river, told us that the sea ran very high; that at the mouth of the river there was an enormous line of breakers, in which they had been almost lost; and that they thought it would be better not to attempt returning on board. However, after hesitating for some time as to the step we ought to take, we embarked. It is singular how one exposes oneself, sometimes unnecessarily, to dangers, which, at other times, we should have dreaded to encounter. The sole reason which impelled us this time was the appetite which the Circassian diet had given to the young Delescluze, whom a plentiful supper awaited on board! The sea broke with a tremendous roar on the beach; it was almost black, and sheets of foam glittering in the moon-light displayed a white ridge on the summit of the waves: the sight of this ridge was truly formidable—it rose before us like a wall: at its base yawned an abyss, which threatened to swallow us up. I steered so as to cut this mass of water at right angles, and animated our sailors by frequent

* M. L'Huillier.

hurrahs: the slightest relaxation in our efforts would have sufficed to swamp us, and we should then have all indubitably perished. In surmounting the ridge our boat rose almost perpendicularly; it then plunged, rose again—but not so high; replunged, and ended, after some violent shocks, by carrying us beyond the reach of danger. The sea outside was not very rough.

During the short stay that we made at Pchiate, I endeavoured to have some of our merchandise exchanged for the productions of the country; but this was attended with very slight success, for the Armenians possessed absolutely nothing; and all the Circassians in the neighbourhood, who had anything, had already exchanged their goods at Anapa. To the description which I have given of the commerce of that fortress are added some reflections on that of the coast of Circassia, which it is useless to repeat here.

I was obliged to renounce the extreme desire I had of going to see on the summit of a mountain, which commands the valley of Pchiate, the ruins of an ancient fortress, because I was assured that I should be ill-treated there by the enemies of Indar Kou, who inhabit that district. I was obliged to confine my walks to the right bank of the river,

where one sees a wooden tomb; its construction, and the care with which it is maintained, are remarkable; they show how much the memory of the prince, who is buried there, is still respected. I made a drawing of it, as well as of a small corn granary, which is very curious, from the means employed to hinder the rats and other destructive animals from entering it. It is placed for this purpose on posts, three or four feet long, crowned by large flat stones, which formed a sort of very large capitals, extending considerably on all sides, so as to admit of no possibility of their being climbed.

A new sacred grove had just been made in that part of the valley since its inhabitants had quarrelled with those of the other bank, who are in possession of the ancient wood, where I made, in 1818, my votive offering. I was very much surprised in finding there, in place of a cross, a sort of gibbet, which the Circassians also use to represent the symbol of their faith.

A *Tau*, which has the figure of a T, sometimes stands them in its stead; they told me that it is only with the lapse of time that they add to these different signs the parts which are wanting, in order to form a cross, and which are like so many degrees of

antiquity. The Commissioners could tell me nothing satisfactory with regard to this particularity; and the Circassians who were with us did not appear to know much more. The vagueness which prevails in the religious ideas of these people increases every day; and the last traces of Christianity, which will soon be entirely extinct, will leave a free field to the religion of Mahomet, the progress of which is but too rapid already.

I regretted the other sacred wood and the cross which I formerly saw there; the perfection of its form, its air of antiquity, the beauty of the trees which surround it, and the worship which had been offered up there to the Divinity, during a long period of years, really filled the heart with feelings of religion.

Whilst conversing on the subject of religion, I learnt the names of the days of the week in Circassia.

1 .	Monday	. *Pleupeu*	. Beginning.
2 .	Tuesday	. *Goubtkhe*	.
3 .	Wednesday	. *Pérézkési*	. Little Fast.
4 .	Thursday	. *Méafeuk*	. Middle Day.
5 .	Friday	. *Pérezkekouche*	. Great Fast.
6 .	Saturday	. *Méfézéakeua*	. Solitary Day.
7 .	Sunday	. *T-haoumaf*	. Lord's Day.

They celebrate it, as we do, on the seventh day.

It is also curious to find Wednesday and Friday called Little and Great Fast, although the Circassians observe none, and that these two names have a great resemblance to that of Paraskevi, which signifies in Greek *preparation*, the name of Friday, because the Jews prepared on that for the festival of the morrow.

On the 24th of August, the anniversary of the birth-day of the King, we invited the Commissioners and some Circassian princes to dinner; but on account of the swell, which would have disturbed the appetites of our guests, we took our repast on shore, in a small wood situated on the bank of a river. I was happy to be the first to drink in Circassia a toast to the august House of Orange, and the sound of cannon fired in its honour was repeated for the first time by the echoes of the Caucasus. Other toasts were drank to the health of the Emperor Alexander, and to other ties which unite Russia with the Low Countries. The sea having subsided, we terminated the fête on board the "Petit Auguste." Indar Oglou reached his home very late on that day, and hastened about ten o'clock to the beach to congratulate us: the signal of a pistol shot, which he fired, made me go on shore: he expressed to me his gratitude for some presents which we had sent to his

dwelling; and amongst which were six common cups, varnished so as to imitate vermilion; they had been jokingly set aside for him by the mother-in-law of one of my friends in Brussels. The old Prince was enchanted with admiration, and asked me several times what was the rank of the lady who had charged me to offer them, and by what present he might testify his gratitude. The next day he came on board. I presented to him my travelling companions, whom he took under his protection, and whom he assured of his zeal to make their commercial enterprises succeed among the Noutakhaïtsis and the Abazes.

We had remained six days at Pchiate, and as nothing required our further stay, we sailed in the evening for Anapa, where we hoped again to find a means of making some exchanges. We passed, with magnificent weather, at within a very short distance of Ghélendjik and of Soudjouk. After having doubled Cape Tsussup, situated at three leagues from the last-mentioned bay, one discovers the extremity of the mountains of Circassia, which terminate, in the north-easterly direction, by great white cliffs, and a sharp point, on which are seen the walls of the Turkish fortress and some minarets.

On the 27th at noon, finding ourselves in 44° 42′ of north latitude, I made out a very flat island, about four hundred yards long, to the north, 23° west, at the distance of three miles; it is situated opposite a valley called by the Circassians Soukhaï, and by the Turks Soukalé (Water Castle), which terminates at the sea, between the white cliffs of which I have already spoken. The channel, which separates that island from *terra firma* is about three quarters of a mile wide; it serves sometimes as a shelter for ships which, in going to Anapa, are overtaken by contrary winds; or to those that wish to exchange their cargoes at Soukhaï. One anchors in five or six fathoms, with a cable on the island. After having been retarded by the north-east wind, we anchored at Anapa on the 30th. We were received there with pleasure; but this fortress was no longer furnished, as it was in the spring, with goods that suited us. The caravan of the month of August had not arrived, on account of the ravages committed by the Kossacks on the left bank of the Kouban.

As the exchanges were carried on too slowly to induce us to prolong our stay, M. Delescluze charged the Armenian Balthazar to prepare some merchandise, which he would come for in the spring.

We quitted Anapa on the 9th of September, at ten o'clock in the evening, and anchored at Theodosia in the night of the 30th of September (11th of October).

VOYAGE TO ANAPA IN 1824.

CIRCUMSTANCES obliged M. Delescluze, junior, to go to Constantinople with the "Petit Auguste." He left Theodosia on the 26th of March (7th of April), 1824, without fulfilling his engagements with Balthazar, who, in compliance with his orders, had prepared every sort of merchandise that he had required. As the Pacha had himself written to me on the subject, I thought it my duty not to hesitate in procuring for Balthazar a new purchaser, whom I found at Theodosia; but with the obligation of myself accompanying into Circassia one of his agents, M. Beranger, who did not dare to go thither alone. I consented to this, and on the 31st of March (12th of April), we started by land from Theodosia, and arrived in the evening at Kertche: after having passed some days there, we crossed the Cimmerian Bosphorus in a boat to Taman: we hired a carriage to go and pass the night at the Bougaze,

which is eighteen versts distant from it. Bougaze means a small assemblage of houses, situated at the entrance of the *Limane*, which is formed by the waters of the Kouban; the name is Turkish and Tatar, and signifies *throat*, and serves to distinguish all the mouths of rivers as well as straits. At the Bougaze there is a quarantine for persons coming from Circassia; a custom-house, some Kossacks, artillerymen, and about fifty soldiers of an infantry regiment, forming the garrison of Taman. I also found there a functionary of the department of foreign affairs, who was charged by M. Scassi with protecting there the commerce between the Circassians and the Russians, and with looking out to prevent munitions of war from being imported into Circassia. This Circassian had the superintendence over a market of exchange.

The merchandise coming from Russia paid no export duty at the custom-house of the Bougaze, and that of the Circassians was exempted from any import duties. The same privileges existed at Kertche for the cargoes of the Russian vessels; but they required of them to bring back a receipt as security, which was certified by the Commissioners residing in Circassia, and that they should be provided, on their return, with a certificate of origin. These measures, which

were taken to prevent the privilege being made use of for another trade, and to prevent Anapa itself from profiting by it, would have been certainly insufficient if people wished to commit a fraud; for what could prevent the landing of merchandise on the coast of Circassia, which the day afterwards would have been taken to the Turks, or reshipped for the Mediterranean? The wool of Circassia would have found there a profit of fifty per cent., and ox-hides would have realised a profit of twenty-five per cent.

Other markets of exchange have long since been established by the Tchernomortsi Kossacks, on the right bank of the Kouban, under the special inspection of their *Ataman* (chief Kossack); they are eight in number, *viz.*:—

1. *Talizine.* 2. *Kara-Kouban.* 3. *Velikolaghermoi.*

Situated opposite to the Chapsouke tribe, which, after having got rid of its princes, whose power had become tyrannical, is now only governed by the elders and nobles; those existing at present are Atoullahlaze, Khaoute-Berzetche, Tsakemouko, and Tchitagoje. The Abazekhes come down from their mountains to bring to these three great markets of ex-

change a great many furs, wax, honey, chestnuts, a variety of fruits, and, above all, fine oak and lime-wood; they pay to the Chapsoukes, for the right of passing through their territory, a duty in kind.

4. *Ekaterinodar.*

Opposite to the tribe of Bedzoukhe, governed by Prince Alkasse and his brother Mehmet-Maghame Tchereï. Alkasse is an old man of seventy, who received a sabre from Catherine II.

5. *Malolaghernoï.*

Opposite to the tribe of Kirkineï of Prince Pchékoui-Moghou-Korkov, and of the noble Doudarouke, who is the chief of a district.

6. *Redoutskoï.* 7. *Ouste Labinskoi.*

At the confluence of the Kouban and the Laba, which has its source in the Caucasus opposite to the tribe of Démirghoï, which acknowledged as its Seignors Prince Taou-Soultane-Beizrouke and his brother Djanboulate Aïtek. Their father was killed many years ago in a battle in which he had taken the part of the Russians against the Abazeks. Taou Soultane is very pacific. He is well disposed towards Russia,

whose possessions Djanboulate, on the contrary, never ceases to attack.

Konstantinooskoï.

Opposite to the tribe of Khatoukaï of Prince Djane-Ghereï-Aslane-Ghereï.

With the exception of the Chapsoukes, all these populations pay their princes a tenth, in order to have permission to trade with the Tchernomortsis.

Salt is the only object which the markets of exchange offer to the Circassians. The Kossacks bring this salt from several salt-lakes which they have among them, and on the shores of the sea of Azoff; they pay nothing to the Government for extracting it, which is free to every one. It is sold in the country at from fifteen to twenty copeks the poud; at the market of exchange the price has been fixed by the Ataman at fifty copeks.

There are some Armenians in the neighbourhood of Taganrog, who also carry on a lucrative commerce with the Circassians, but they do not stop at the markets of exchange; they cross the Kouban, and carry into the mountains all sorts of merchandise, the greater part of which are of Russian manufacture: they barter them for Circassian products, which they

afterwards dispose of at Rostov, Nakhitchevan, Taganrog, &c. Other Armenians, whom I have already mentioned as inhabiting the Caucasus, have also the right of importing them into Russia.

It would certainly be possible to take advantage of this commerce to establish friendly relations between the Russians and the tribes of the Caucasus. I have been assured, that in spite of the bad organization and want of intelligence amongst the Kossacks, it amounts already to a million of roubles. That which the Armenians carry on must also be equal to it in value. (See at the end of this volume the Table of Exchanges of the Circassian productions, and their price in salt.) The Tchernomortsi Kossacks make no mention in the table of their exchanges of several articles of value which are brought to them from the Caucasus; such as bear-skins, wolves, foxes, sable, polecats, jackals, wild-cats, tigers, &c.; the Abazeks sell them also a quantity of chestnuts.

I had a letter of recommendation for the chief of the quarantine of Boughaz. He was absent, but it served to procure for me a lodging and a supper at his house.

On the 5th (17th) of April, at a very early hour, I dressed myself in my Circassian costume, and pre-

pared to depart. The employés made some signals to the Tatar fishermen established on the other side of the Boughaz, who immediately came to carry us over the strait in their bark.

The Treaty of Yassy, concluded in 1791, between the Court of St. Petersburgh and the Ottoman Porte, established the Kouban as the limits of Russia. This river was formerly called by the Greeks, Hypanis, by Ptolemy, Vardan, and in the time of the Khazares, Oukroughe and Varsan; the Tcherkesses give it the name of *Psi-Skhe*, which signifies *old water*. It has its source in the Caucasus, at the foot of the Elbrooz, and is divided at twelve and at thirty-two leagues from its mouth into two other branches, which join the Sea of Azof. The Liman, which has formed itself at its mouth, is about forty-eight miles in circumference; it formerly bore the name of Korokondamite. Strabo tells us that on its right shore, and in the country of the Sindes, which is at present inhabited by the Circassians, were the towns of Ermonassa and Apatouros. Yerone of Venus, Gorghippia, of which we possess medals, was perhaps also there. The residence of the King of the Sindes was near the sea. The Liman abounds at the present day in fish:

the Kossacks on one bank, and the Tatar Adalis on the other, carry on a considerable fishery there.

A small vessel under the Russian flag, loaded with salt at the Boughaz for Anatolia; it was anchored in fourteen or fifteen feet water, but a bar which was situated outside, and on which there are only five or six feet water, made it necessary that it should shortly move further out, previously to completing its cargo; the interior of the Liman can only contain very small barks.

As the fishermen who had made us cross the strait had no horses to let, we were obliged to wait a long time for a cart, which did not arrive till very late. It brought the news that the differences which had arisen last year between the Turks of the garrison of Anapa and some Circassians with regard to a woman who had been violated, had just broken out again, and rendered the road very dangerous. We started, however, and a Circassian whom I did not know wished to accompany us on horseback, and to serve as our Konak.

The neck of land on which we had landed is parallel to another, situated three miles further off, in the Liman; they both advance from S.E. to N.E.

in the form of a fork, towards the southern coast of the island of Taman, within a space of three hours' march, and sixty yards in width; the road is painful, on account of the very fine sand on which one is obliged to pass: it forms, in turning round certain marine plants which grow there, a great many downs, where the sea often makes itself a passage to pour itself into the Liman. At the extremity of these two necks of land rises the table-land of Djimaité; it is a league long, and three-quarters of a league wide. I there saw two tumuli, and I was assured that further on there are considerable ruins; they perhaps mark the site of the ancient Ermonassa. The village of Djimaité, where we arrived at the entrance of the bight, is situated on the southern side of the table-land, and commands the Liman; it is inhabited by Tatar-Adalis, who cultivate corn, various kinds of vegetables, and water-melons. They possess a great many cattle and horses. Our charioteer drove us to one of the primates of the village, a man of a respectable appearance, who gave us a very hospitable reception. The house of the stranger, where we were received was constructed of hurdles covered with clay, which here and there left openings, through which the wind, which was still very cold,

made us uncomfortable. They brought us our supper by the side of the chimney, where they burnt turf of dung, called in Tatar, *tizek;* they lighted some pieces of wood, and we passed the night by the side of the fire, on small mattresses which had served us for sofas.

On the 6th (18th) of April, Easter-day, we recommenced our journey at a very early hour, after having thanked our host, who received with pleasure some handkerchiefs of very common colours. His son wished to accompany us as far as Anapa.

A short time after we had left Djimaité we crossed an alluvial soil intersected by marshes and pools of water, in which grew a great many rushes. It is bordered on the sea-side by downs, similar to those which we had seen the evening before. Although the wind was not strong, there rose a great quantity of sand, which impregnated the air in a manner equally disagreeable to the sight and to the respiration. An examination of this part of the margin of the Liman has persuaded me that the Kouban must have had a second mouth at the foot of the table-land of Djimaité, less directly opposed to the course of the river. It is easy to perceive how it must have been more easily obstructed than the other.

At two hours' march from Djimaité there are some hillocks, which bound to the north the Valley of Anapa, from which one is still two hours distant. We thought we should here have found some Circassians in ambuscade in the ditches; but we only met with some very honest people, who gave us the customary *travelling salute*. At noon we at last arrived safely at Anapa, where Balthazar was waiting for me with impatience. He gave us hospitality in a large magazine, one side of which looked on the street, and the other on a court: two niches furnished with shelves, and placed at each side of the principal entrance, served as shops; ox-hides, buffalo-hides, hare-skins, wax, honey, tallow, corn, rye, &c. occupied the remainder. Beneath this chaos of goods there was a loft which one reached with the aid of a bad ladder: there, surrounded by linens, cottons, various sorts of fur, &c., were stretched out mats, and some small mattresses on which we slept pell-mell, with Balthazar, his sons, and Circassians.

Several Turks of my acquaintance hastened to come and see me, amongst others Ali Aga, whom I found as faithful as ever. The next day I paid a visit to the Pacha, who expressed the satisfaction which my arrival caused; he questioned me on the

policy of Europe, on the projects of Russia, as well as on the state of the Greek insurrection, and handed to me a dozen letters, which he had received from different Russian officers, all of which were still sealed. I translated them for him, and also resumed my functions of secretary-interpreter to Seid Akhmet. They made me acquainted with many events of which I certainly should have been ignorant. Since the incursion which the Circassians had made among the Tchernomortsi, in April, 1823, and in which the family of the Chipakoua also took part, several battles had taken place on the Kouban. The Kossack General Vlassov had just sown terror on the left bank of that river, where he had destroyed a great many habitations, and killed about 2000 individuals. The Pacha told me that the Circassians then entertained the singular idea of charging him to re-demand from the Russians the army which he had taken away from them. This war, which ravaged a fertile country, and obstructed the passage of the caravans, did considerable injury to the commerce of Anapa; what contributed also a great deal to it, was the emigration of about 10,000 Noghais, who had just passed the Kouban, to go and settle on the Russian territory, which they had quitted some years before,

but which they now preferred to Circassia, on account of the vexations of the princes.

The arrival of the "Cheval Marin," a superb Greek brig, under the Russian flag, surprised me very agreeably on the 15th (27th) of April: it brought to Constantinople the nephew of the Pacha, and a great many other Turks, who brought to Anapa 700 bales of merchandise. Seid Akhmet did not choose to receive the captain until he had consulted me as to the risks which would attend his doing so. I hastened to dissipate his suspicions, and he then gave him a very distinguished reception. This extraordinary proof of confidence was several times renewed during my stay at Anapa, which attracted thither several other vessels under the Russian flag. The "Cheval Marin" set sail two days afterwards for Taganrog.

On the 18th (30th), the greater part of the population of Anapa assembled on the rampart to witness the entrance of 200 Anatolian soldiers, who came by land from Soudjouk-kalé, where contrary winds had forced them to disembark. These troops, who had announced themselves from afar by frequent discharges of fire-arms, marched in disorder over the

plain, preceded by some standard-bearers and by a *binbachi* (chief of a 1000 men or colonel) on horseback. A great many Circassian horsemen surrounded him. The firing redoubled when these soldiers passed under the gate of the fortress, and it was prolonged until they reached their quarters: the balls which fell on all sides fortunately wounded nobody. One may often say of the Turks, what is said of children and drunkards, that they have a particular god of their own. This troop was composed of peasants of Anatolia, whose costume consists in a large pair of breeches, which does not pass the knee, and of a waistcoat or vest of thick cloth of a brown colour; black worsted lace ornaments some parts of their dress; each soldier carries in his belt a leathern powder-flask, a small bag full of balls, a tin-box with tallow, a tinder-box, a tobacco-pouch, and they also wear there a *yatagan* and a pistol: all their guns are rifle-barrelled, and can only be loaded very slowly.

This reinforcement to the garrison had been demanded by the Pacha, in order to be better able to restrain the population, which, as I have already said, contained a very small number of honest people. In the month of September two Turks had fired

their pistols at him, and missed him. They cut off the head of one of them; the other, protected by a Konak, remained unpunished.

I have already said that the greater part of the coffee-houses of Anapa belonged to important personages, and that it was the fashion to pay one's court to them there. I went thither almost every evening to seek some object of diversion. These places, as in the whole of Turkey, are divided into several compartments, raised one or two feet above the floor, surrounded by a small balustrade, and covered with carpets and sofas. After having taken off his slippers, each individual goes and ranges himself according to his rank or his riches: one must do this by traversing the crowd in the most perfect silence, and only receives the salutation of one's acquaintances at the end of a few minutes, when it is supposed that one has reposed; then come also the boys, who present pipes and coffee. Sometimes the word *djabba!* pronounced very loud by one of them, announces to the public that it is some one who has it served up gratis. It is necessary then to sip it with a loud smack, in order to show that it is excellent. In the midst of a cloud of thick smoke, the attention is generally captivated by some story, or by a musician, who

sings the high deeds of an oriental hero, accompanying himself on a *tabourah**. I have often found in these coffee-houses Tatars of the Kouban, of the Crimea, or of the Steppes to the north of the Sea of Azof, who spoke to me of Russia, Poland, Germany, and France: many of them, after having served in Russia, preferred Circassia to their native country. The sentiments which these people must cherish might render very dangerous the relations which they continue to have with their countrymen, through the channel of the merchants of the Crimea, who come every year to Anapa. I discovered in one of these coffee-houses a Greek of the Archipelago: this man, who had been established in Circassia a very long time, had even forgotten his language. His recollection had only preserved a very few words. He told me that the island of Mycone was his native country. Perhaps he was happy; but his presence inspired me with painful ideas, for great misfortunes or great crimes can alone occasion such an abandonment of country, unless it be provoked by ambition and an exalted imagination. The sight of some Poles made me suffer also; they were the companions of misfor-

* A sort of Mandoline, the real name of which is *Saze*. I believe it to be Arabian.

tune, of those whom, during my first voyage, I mentioned that I had seen at Anapa in 1813. The hope and the desire even of seeing their country again was extinct amongst them; their wives, their children, attached them for ever to the dark forests of the Caucasus, where they came to pass their existence in oblivion. This divorce from our earliest impressions, the habits of our infancy, our first recollections, and our most tender affections, must be heart-rending.

Amongst the Russians whom I saw at Anapa there was one who particularly attached himself to me, profiting by the long evenings of the *Bairam*, which he came to spend in the coffee-house, whilst his master went to the mosque. His name, which was Ivan, had been changed by the Turks into that of Osman: fifteen years had passed since, on going to Tefflis with some Russian merchants, he had been carried off, not far from the Afips, by the Circassians, who suddenly issued from the reeds which border some parts of the banks of the Kouban: he fell to the lot of an Abazek prince, who carried him to the middle of some very high mountains, crowned with enormous rocks, between which he said that he only saw the sun during four hours. The corn and the maize which is cultivated there does not suffice for the

inhabitants, who supply the deficiencies by different roots. Ivan, who regretted his Steppes, tried to escape: he had already reached one bank of the Kouban, and was preparing to cross that river, when his master recaptured him; he was then beaten and condemned to the most painful labours. In order thenceforth to secure his fidelity, the Abazek prince wished him to marry, and as he refused to consent, he shut him up during two days with the young vassal whom he had destined for him: this tête-à-tête had its effect. Ivan became the husband of Khani; his rebellious humour, however, still drew down upon him ill-treatment, and he formed the project of recovering his liberty by avenging himself in a signal manner. The opportunity soon presented itself. One evening that his master had got drunk with *bouza*, with some strangers who had come to see him, Ivan loaded his wife with provisions, and after having shut all the doors, he set fire to the dwelling, whose thatch, and the heaps of hay which surrounded it, favoured the flames. Having retreated with his wife to the summit of a mountain, Ivan viewed the fire with a ferocious joy, which was augmented by the cries of his tyrant struggling in vain with the flames. Khani, trembling for the life of her husband, conjured him

to choose for his Konak the nearest prince; but he preferred another, who dwelt at a greater distance, and whose brother had been killed by their master. Concealing themselves with care in the forests, they occupied five nights to arrive there. The prince, delighted at hearing of the death of his enemy, gave them an excellent reception, and treated them for a long time with the greatest kindness; but having become a Mussulman, a Turkish mollah persuaded him to go on a pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet, and he departed, leaving Ivan to his brother. Although the latter continued to treat him well, the death of his wife, and the hope of returning to Russia, made him resolve to escape; and he executed his intention with the greater facility, because he at that time enjoyed a great deal of liberty. Since that period, Ivan had changed masters eighteen times, almost always by escaping; three only sold him. When I knew him he was the factotum of a rich Turkish merchant, whom he had followed to Constantinople and through the whole of Anatolia. He often amused me with his plan of going to devote his medical knowledge to the king of France: he said he had acquired it in Circassia, and he thought himself pos-

sessed of extraordinary secrets, which would procure for him consideration and an enormous fortune.

His master unfortunately would not grant him his freedom, except on condition that he would become a Mussulman, and he came to consult me regularly every evening to know if the crime was a great one. His obstinacy in refusing to consent to it, and his threats, occasioned his being again sold to a Circassian, who took him into his mountains, whence it will probably be difficult for him henceforth to escape.

The greater part of the Russians whom I saw at Anapa were deserters, who did not appear to me to be much affected by their new situation. When I treated them with brandy, they sang, and appeared contented: they generally assumed with the Turks and Circassians an air of superiority, which strangely contrasted with their position. The orientals, however, treat their slaves with much kindness and familiarity, and their fate can in no respect be compared with that of the negroes of our Colonies, or even with that of servants in many countries.

At Anapa one loses much of the horror which the word slave produces in our minds. I have seen a

considerable number of both sexes who were destined for Turkey or Egypt. The idea of this compulsory expatriation did not make them unhappy. Very few of them escaped; and even those whom I had seen with chains to their feet had lost none of their gaiety. All the young girls who are brought from the mountains are shut up in warehouses, where they likewise manifest a gaiety which it has always been painful to me to witness. I would rather have seen tears and witnessed the most heart-rending misery, where I heard songs and laughter. It would be difficult for me to attempt to express what they feel; but after this, let people talk with horror of the traffic of men carried on by the Turks, and pity the fate of their slaves. The Circassians never would understand when we endeavoured to impress upon their minds that the sale of their children was a misfortune. They consider it on the contrary a means of providing for them, of securing to them a patron, and frequently the prospect of a brilliant career. I am persuaded that when Anapa shall belong to the Russians the abolition of this commerce will make the Circassians long regret the Turks; since it is also a very important article of exchange for them,

which they cannot so soon replace by products of industry.

On the 28th April (10th May) I was very much surprised to see two masked Circassians, who attracted a considerable crowd of Turks. The latter of the two was almost entirely covered with kid skins sewn together. His head was ornamented with the small horns of the animal, and he had adjusted to it a long pelican's beak, which opened and shut by means of a small bit of packthread, ingeniously arranged. The other was much smaller. He wore a mask, *à l'antique,* which entirely concealed his head and face. It had been very skilfully made of black sheepskin, on which no hair had been left, except what was necessary to represent the hair, the beard, and the mustachios. His coat was narrow and short. He had a horse's tail, and carried a wooden sabre, a small bow, and an arrow similar to those made by children. These masks executed to the sound of two instruments a sort of pantomimic dance, during which the short one frequently fired off his arrow at his comrade, whom he finally killed with his sabre. The principal instrument was of an elliptic form, fifteen inches long, hollow, and covered by a board

pierced in the middle with several holes. Two thick horsehair cords were attached to it, and sounds were extracted from it with the aid of a semicircular bow. The other was composed of three small planks, attached together at one of the ends; that in the middle had a handle, by which it was held. This instrument was similar to that used by the steerers of several vessels, to mark the hours of the watch.

For several months past Anapa had had no salt for the Circassians, the greater part of whom did not choose to go and seek it in the port where it was brought by the Russians, because great distances and difficult roads separated them from them. This want of one of the articles of primary necessity to the tribes of the Caucasus had been caused by the employment of a great number of the ships of Asia Minor in the suite of the Turkish squadron, which was to act that year against the Greeks. For a long time past the salt of the Crimea no longer furnished the supplies of Anapa, the export duties imposed by the Russian government having so much raised its price, as to make them prefer that of the Gulf of Smyrna, or that of Sicily, which is of a quality but little esteemed in all the Turkish ports of the Black Sea, and hitherto unknown. Salt, however, increased so much in price at Anapa,

that the sale of that of the Crimea might be carried on with advantage. I wrote to Kertche to induce some Russian speculators to take advantage of so favourable a circumstance. I had just done so, when we learned all at once that the exchange market at Boughaze had informed the Circassians that they would furnish some at a very low price, and that the latter had flocked thither in crowds from the plains of the Kouban, with the different products of their industry. This news so exasperated the merchants of Anapa, that they resolved to arm themselves for the purpose of driving the Circassians from the neck of land. I have since learned that the Pacha excited them underhand, and had even placed a piece of cannon at their disposal. This expedition limited its march, however, to the village of Djimaité, whence it returned the next day, with the assurance that there were no longer any Circassians in the Boughaze. Being obliged to go there in person on the following day, to receive a considerable sum of money which had been sent from Theodosia, I saw them still employed in loading their waggons with salt; but they did not appear to be satisfied. The width of the promontory of the Liman, and the difficulty of traversing its sands, the embarrassment of crossing in a boat

the arm of the sea which separates it from the other shore, that of bargaining in quarantine, the sight of the bayonets of the sentinels, and the high tone of some of the employés, were not calculated to induce them to return thither. Soon after, the exchange market was once more deserted, and no Circassian appeared there afterwards.

I arrived late at the extremity of the promontory: the fishermen made me pay very dear for carrying me across to the other side; and as the quarantine regulations prevented my passing the night there, I returned to seek for hospitality on the Circassian soil. There, with the sand for my bed, with my head resting on my saddle, surrounded by Turks, Tatars, Circassians, and Noghaïs, I should have slept perfectly well, if thousands of musquitoes had not tormented me for a long time: the wind rose at a late hour and drove them away.

On the next day, the 1st (13th) of May, I received a great many thousand piastres in gold, which I did my utmost to conceal, in order not to excite the cupidity of any one. The superintendent of the quarantine of Boughaze was a young captain of infantry, who had quitted the military service on account of his wounds. I am indebted to him for a dinner and a

bottle of wine, which appeared to me excellent, as for a month past I had been almost reduced to eat nothing but raw garlick with *yaourte*, and to drink nothing but water. I started the same evening, to sleep at Djimaité, where I saw several Kossack women, who had been taken on the Kouban, and the next day I arrived at Anapa: during the journey I was again tormented by clouds of musquitoes.

During the summer of 1824 very few Turkish vessels arrived, besides the Russian brig the "Mercury," commanded by the Sardinian Captain Bava, which came to take the merchandise which had been the cause of my return to Anapa. Some other foreigners, under the Russian flag, were attracted thither by the security which my presence seemed to promise them: they all addressed themselves to me, and the Pacha would not suffer them to remain in the roads until he had consulted me. One of them, the brig "St. Laurence," commanded by the Sardinian Captain Risso, had been hired at Genoa, in order to visit some of the Asiatic ports of the Black Sea, and to judge of their importance. M. Philippe Garibaldi, the director of this operation, having heard at Constantinople of the experiment made by M. Delescluze at Anapa, conceived the desire of visiting that fortress,

without, however, daring to satisfy it, on account of the barbarous state of the whole coast of Circassia. He only resolved upon doing so, upon learning from M. St. André, the French Consul at Trebisond, that he would find me there. The " St. Laurence" anchored at Anapa on the 24th of May, and sailed again on the 29th, after having disembarked M. Garibaldi and his servant. This merchant, in less than a month, made the acquisition of 2000 ox and cow-hides, 2000 hare-skins, some hundreds of sheep-skins, and 1500 okas of yellow wax, which he paid for in oil, coffee, and Spanish dollars: the greater part of the oil and coffee was sent to Trebisond and Synope.

This undertaking was the cause of an event which proves how little confidence ought to be inspired in Turkey by the friendship of its inhabitants, the protection of its chiefs, and the tranquillity one enjoys there at different times.

I had been repeatedly informed that some Turkish merchants saw with pain that one Mahometan, Ghendje-Aga of Trebisond, and the Armenian Balthazar, were the only persons who profited by the advantages which the purchases of M. Garibaldi offered. They wished, it was said, to burn their warehouses, and to kill me, as being the person who had first in-

troduced the Ghiaours at Anapa. Ip-Tchaouche, who had just quitted Constantinople in consequence of a murder, was at the head of our most bitter enemies, and aspired to the honour of being my assassin. This man came, however, every day to drink some glasses of rum, of which we had a large stock, and expressed great friendship for all of us. One day, when I was alone between the walls of the fortress and the sea-shore, I saw him slowly approaching me: his face, adorned with a long reddish moustache, was pallid, and a sinister look from his clear blue eyes was fixed upon me. "You know me not," said he, on approaching me; "I am a dervish here; but Stamboul, Roumelia, Anatolia, and the White Sea still remember Ip-Tchaouche. What are you come to do at Anapa?" At these words his hand reached to his dagger, and I, prompt to follow all his movements, fixed myself at his right side, and, half drawing my own, held myself in readiness to make use of it. Ip-Tchaouche trembled with rage when he saw me prepared to contend for my life. My situation was terrible; whatever might be the issue of the combat, I was lost; for had I killed my enemy, the inhabitants of Anapa would not have failed to have avenged his death by mine, before it would have been possible for me to find an asylum

among my Circassian Konaks. I was protected by the Almighty! A custom-house officer, a good old man, and one of my friends, appeared; and Ip-Tchaouche, on seeing him, entered the fortress, foaming with rage. As cowardly as he was perfidious, he declared to his accomplices that he considered it better to select Balthazar as the victim, as I was but a Rayah; and on the morrow, the 11th of June, he stabbed him at the door of his shop. This sad event overwhelmed me with grief, and I shall preserve a sad impression of it the remainder of my life. Had I then, alas! come from the shores of the ocean, to occasion the death of this old man, and thus to deprive his unhappy family of him? The tears of his two sons weighed upon my heart; I could hardly bear to see them; I thought I read in their looks their terrible reproaches!

The Pacha sent to my door a guard of six men, and invited me to come to his house. Although assassinations were very frequent at Anapa, the whole population was astonished at this event, and Seid Akhmet was profoundly affected by it.

M. Garibaldi had paid a large sum to Balthazar, for which he had not yet received the value in merchandise which he had engaged to furnish him with.

I knew that he was in debt to several Turks, and I feared that I should see his sons deprived of the means to satisfy M. Garibaldi. I spoke of it to the Pacha, and begged that he would not suffer that merchant to be a loser by so atrocious a crime. He promised that he would give an order, by means of which this debt should be liquidated before any other. In order to keep up his zeal, I then displayed my character of public functionary, which I thought it best to have supported by a Russian authority; and, being too distant from Constantinople to write to the king's chargé d'affairs, I received from General Bogdanovski, the Governor of Kertche, a letter written in Turkish, addressed to the Pacha, of which the following is a translation:—

"TO THE THREE-TAILED PACHA SEID AKHMET, COMMANDER OF ANAPA.

"I have been informed that M. Taitboul de Marigny the Dutch Vice-Consul, who has been for some time past residing at Anapa on commercial business, has met with many vexations there, to such an extent, that one of his enemies having killed the proprietor of the house where he resides,

has not been punished for the offence, but enjoys perfect liberty. As M. Taitbout de Marigny is at a distance from his superior authorities, and as I myself am not far removed from you, and being besides entirely acquainted with the reasons of this officer's residence in the fortress of Anapa, I feel myself obliged to request you to take him under your protection, to force the guilty to indemnify him for the injuries he may have received, and to preserve him from all danger in your fortress. I am perfectly sure that you will pay attention to my demand, for you must doubtless feel the advantage to be obtained by the inhabitants of Anapa in favouring those commercial relations with European nations, which M. Taitbout de Marigny is so zealously endeavouring to establish; your own interest, then, and justice, require that you should protect him.

" G. BOGDANOVSKI.

" 25*th June*, 1824, *Kertche*."

This letter having reached me very late, had no influence on my situation. I am not, however, the less grateful to M. Bogdanovski and to M. Kodinats, an employé of the office of foreign affairs, who supported my request to M. Bogdanovski. I had

also recourse to my Konaks, who came to Anapa a few days after the assassination of Balthazar. Noghaï in very energetic terms ordered the inhabitants to respect us, and assured them that he would take signal vengeance not only upon those who should dare to insult us, but upon their Konak. Several Turks hastened to express to me the high value they attached to the protection of the Indar Kous.

Ip-Tchaouche had fled to the Circassians, and lived there in security, under the safeguard of his Konaks, whose powerful protection enabled him to come and brave the anger of the Pacha, even under the walls of his fortress, where he often came to converse with his friends on his affairs; whilst I remained there he never came into the fortress; I do not know what became of him afterwards.

In order to shield us more effectually from danger, Seid Akhmet made us lodge in a chamber attached to the coffee-house of the *Touféktchi-Bachi:* excepting a dungeon, there is nothing bad enough amongst us to be compared with this new lodging, which, however, was not bad for Anapa. I resided there until I left the place.

The assassination of poor Balthazar caused the issue of a prohibition to all the population of Anapa

to bear arms. This important measure, which the Pacha had not yet dared to effect, was executed with the assistance of the Bin-Bachi of the garrison, who was very zealous, and used all the severity which was necessary to restrain the people of Anapa, who loudly expressed their discontent.

No one at Kertche profited in time by the information I had hastened to convey of the rise in the price of salt at Anapa; for some came first from Constantinople which was sold at five piastres the kilo; that which was brought by the first Russian ship was paid at 4.10, and was immediately resold to the Circassians by the Turks at 6 in merchandise. The 22nd of June a Lodka of Kertche sold some at 3½; the 3rd of July this article was only 2½, but in the course of this month, M. Ch——, a French merchant, was offered

for 1 measure of salt		2 full measures of wheat,
1	ditto	2½ of rye,
1	ditto	2½ of barley,
1	ditto	3½ of oats.

Although the salt did not, at most, cost him more than a rouble the kilo, he did not accept the offer; it would be difficult to imagine what could be the cause of his refusal.

Two Circassians, inhabitants of the Valley of Soukha, bargained for M. Ch——'s cargo. They invited him to come to their house to contract with the whole community: in order to persuade him to do so, I was forced to promise to accompany him. I was delighted to have this opportunity of making an excursion to the environs of Anapa, which it had hitherto been out of my power to do. We directed our course first to the east, over the mountain which commands Anapa: some shrubs and scattered trees adorn its western flank; further on, the country becomes more woody, and the air is perfumed with an immense number of juniper trees. At three-quarters of a league from Anapa there is a spring of very good water, from which there is a project of supplying the town by means of an aqueduct. Advancing towards the vale of Soukha, we beheld before us high mountains running from the north to the south; it is necessary to cross them, in order to descend into the vale of Soudjouk-kalé. Soukha is very confined, and the landscape pleased me. A considerable forest of trees extends as far as the sea-shore; amongst them are situated the houses of the inhabitants.

Whilst a repast was being prepared for us, the

Circassian with whom we were, brought us some fruit. M. Ch—— did not approve of this, thought it insufficient, and demanded several times of his Lodka, who understood Turkish, that he should be given something else to eat, because he was hungry; and seeing that they delayed obeying, he was violently angry, and quitted us to return to Anapa, without choosing to speak any further on business. It was in vain that I freely expressed my opinion to him; all was useless: his example was followed by M. G——, and they departed on foot, braving the dangers of the route. However, at a certain distance from Soukha they slackened their pace, and some Circassians whom I had left in ignorance of the cause of the fury of M. Ch——, rejoined them, and served them as an escort. After having dined, I, too, left our host, to whose wife I made a present of a handkerchief, and having overtaken the companions of my journey, we entered Anapa at night together.

This adventure showed me the degree of confidence required by certain merchants to establish commercial relations between two nations. It is fortunate that it is rare to find them of a character like the one in question, and that in general they prefer a good speculation to a dinner.

At Soukha there is an inscription, which is not Turkish; the Circassians ascribe it to the Franikes; perhaps it is Greek or Latin. I only learned that it existed, long after my expedition to Soukha, on the very day of my departure from Anapa to return into the Crimea. I wish much that a traveller may find it; for it may, perhaps, throw considerable light upon a country so little known. I was told that it is at the back of the chimney of a house, situated not far from that of Kauroum-bati-mourza, where I had been received.

In 1823 I had already obtained some medals at Anapa, and I augmented the number in 1824. An Armenian and a Greek likewise purchased some for Franks at Constantinople: this rivalry was disadvantageous to me; but I contrived to do what seldom happens with these sort of people, viz. to compensate for the money which I had thrown away for common medals, by the purchase of rare ones; so that on the whole they did not cost me dear. These medals were in gold, silver, and brass, of Panticapea and of Fanagoria, which were under the same laws, or of the kings of the Bosphorus. I had also a very fine *Stater en electrum*, representing on one side a woman's head to the left, adorned with the *Sphendone*

and ears of corn, placed upon a fish; and on the other, an *Aire en creux*, divided into four unequal parts.

During my residence at Anapa I employed myself in copying the inscriptions on many sabres: it appears to me that, by means of these and other monuments of the Caucasus, it would be possible to discover some traces of the ancient people who visited this country, or who had commercial relations with it. I have seen some with the name Genova and Hollandia, with a head of our Saviour in front, or inscriptions such as these,—"*Do not draw me without cause, or replace me without honor;*" or "*Parmi dey y par my Rey.*" The most common are with the following characters:—ovovo and cπcπc.

On the 7th of July I was told that a great number of Noutakhaïtsis and Chapsoukes were going to attack the warehouses at Pchiate; and on the 19th I learned that they had burned and pillaged them. Indar Kou, who had wished to defend them, was surrounded in his habitation; but, like all the combats between the Circassians, this also was limited to a great number of musket and pistol shots fired in the air. A ball, which accidentally grazed the shoulder of one of the assailants, was afterwards the occasion of a law-suit between the relations of the wounded

man and Indar Kou. The latter in his turn put forth all his pretensions for the insult offered to him, and for the losses sustained by him — for the two warehouses which had been burnt were supposed to belong to him. I am ignorant of the result of these debates; but I doubt whether the old prince could obtain any thing of his countrymen.

I hastened to write to Kertche to M. Kodinets, to inform him of this unfortunate event, which completely ruined the merchants who had salt at Pchiate. Some days after, news arrived of there being, at Chapsoukhaï * seventeen boats, which were preparing to attack the Russians wherever they found any on the coast of Noutakhaïtsi. This threat was not executed, perhaps on account of the presence at Soudjouk-kalé of a Greek brig, under the Russian flag, armed with four guns and several muskets.

In the course of July there were at Anapa two assemblies of Circassian princes; and the Pacha Seid Akhmet made a journey into the interior eight leagues distant from his fortress. He sought to accomplish a very important work, that of inducing the tribes in the neighbourhood of the Kouban to take the oath of allegiance to the Sultan, and to be

* An anchorage to the south of Pchiate.

governed in future by Turkish laws. In order to succeed in it he alternately flattered the princes who were most devoted to the Porte, and the vassals of those who would submit to no foreign yoke: for this purpose he supported the complaints of the latter against the abuse of power which their lords had arrogated to themselves; and who, they said, were idlers, always on horseback, and living by the fruit of their labours. The destruction of the Chapsoukes' princes is attributed to Seid Akhmet. The Pacha succeeded in making the Kabartais, Abazekhes, and Bzedoukhes take the oath; and during my residence at Anapa he appointed a Turk to govern them. This event was pompously announced to the inhabitants assembled at his house on the 2nd of August.

The brig, the St. Lawrence, which M. Garibaldi had sent to Taganrog, returned to Anapa on the 31st of July. She completed her cargo on the 2nd of August, and sailed on the 3rd for Genoa. Having taken leave of the Pacha, I started also on that day with M. Garibaldi for the Boughaze, where we arrived at ten o'clock in the evening. We passed the night on the Fishermen's Point, and only left the Circassian soil the next morning, to put ourselves in

quarantine on the Russian side: it only lasted fifteen days, our effects having been fumigated.

On the 13th of August the boat of a ship belonging to M. Scassi reached the Boughaze, with its master (Ozernoï) who commanded it, its crew, and two Armenian passengers. They stated, that having taken a cargo of rye and timber at Toughe, they had anchored on the 29th of July at Pchiate to receive there the certificates of origin, which the commissioners were only in the habit of giving after sun-set; that three Circassian boats came down upon them; that they endeavoured to escape them by setting sail; but that they were becalmed, and received several discharges of muskets and pistols on the deck and in the sails. Having no arms to oppose to them they resolved to abandon the vessel, and to escape in the boat, which being rowed faster, left the Circassian boats far behind it.

On the 16th M. Kodinets arrived at the Boughaze; on the 17th M. Tausch and the son of Indar Kou, Islam Gheri, came to inform him that they could nowhere discover any traces of the vessel. The misfortunes which successively befell the faint efforts of the Russian subjects to establish commercial re-

lations in Circassia had confounded the commissioner, who was moreover better able than any other person to judge of the opinions of the Noutakhaïtsi. I have since frequently heard this event mentioned in the Crimea: it has been related there in different ways. Amongst other accounts, it has been said that these boats, which so much alarmed the master Ozernoï, were filled with Circassians, who wished to go on board to amuse themselves. This is a bad joke, which is worthy of no more credit than that in which it was said that the pirates were Turks, sent by the Pacha of Anapa. Towards the end of the year the French Consul at Trebisond informed the inhabitants of the Crimea that a Russian ship had been found without any crew on the coast of Anatolia, at a small distance from Rizeh. The description given of it by this functionary proved that it was that of Ozernoï; but in order to obtain possession of it, it was necessary to pay a considerable sum to the Turks, which they said they had spent in repairs; therefore she was abandoned to them. It would appear that the Circassians being ignorant of the art of navigating a vessel had abandoned it, after having entirely stripped it of all that they could carry away.

During my quarantine two Tatars of Kazan, re-

turning from Mecca, arrived at the Boughaze; they had disembarked at Anapa, and were returning to their own land in a little cart on two wheels, drawn by two horses. These people seemed to be possessed of some fortune; but there are others of the same country, or from Bokhara, who go to visit the tomb of the Prophet, and who beg their way back, as well among the Christians as among their co-religionists. It is said that it is often a tolerably advantageous speculation for them. These pilgrims embark at Anapa, in the Crimea, at Taganrog, or at Odessa, and pass through those places again on their return.

The very day my quarantine was ended I set off for Taman, where we spent the night. The next day, the 18th of August, I visited the old General Babaïedov, colonel of the regiment of Taman, who had overwhelmed me with civility at the Boughaze. The wind, which had been very strong in the morning, became calm towards noon, and permitted the boat which we had hired to attempt the passage of the strait. We rowed along the whole extent of the southern bank of Taman: there are small islets of sand on it covered with reeds. Our people rested on the last of them: we arrived at Kertche at six in the evening. Count Langeron was there, and invited

me to go to his house before I had had time to change my dress. This general departed on the 12th (24th) of August to go to Odessa. I no longer delayed my return to Theodosia, where I at last arrived on the 18th (30th), four months and twenty-nine days after my departure.

SUPPLEMENT.

TOWARDS the end of 1824 the Sandjak of Anapa was united to the Pachalik of Trebisond, and a Pacha of two tails was sent to replace Seid-Emir Akhmet, who retired to Sinope.

In 1825 Tchitchène Oglou-Assane, Pacha of Trebisond, came himself to Anapa, and took the greatest possible pains to persuade the tribes of the Caucasus inhabiting the country between the Black Sea, the route from Mozdok to Teflis, the Kouban, Mingrelia, and Immeritia, how much advantage they would derive by filling the void in their political existence, by recognising the Sultan as their sovereign, who would then have the right to protect them efficaciously against the aggressions of Russia. The greater part of them consented to the proposal, but their oath of fidelity was only given and received under the persuasion that their independence was in no respect to be diminished, and that this step was only a re-

source which it was necessary to make use of against Russia.

I have been informed that two Russian ships returned in 1826 to the coasts of the Noutakhaïtsi, and that soon after no more appeared. The Pacha of Anapa declared that year that he would be responsible for all the losses which the traders, who had addressed themselves to him to procure Konaks, might experience.

In 1826 the crew of a small Russian ship of war, which went down at Anapa, received the most amicable assistance from Tchitchène Oglou. An officer, who was sent to obtain a salvage from him, was very well received, and the Russians had no cause of complaint, either against the Pacha or against the Circassians.

However, the war continued still to be prosecuted on the Kouban, and frequent combats ensued between the Kossacks and the mountaineers. General Vlassov, in an expedition on the left bank of the river, carried fire and sword everywhere, and brought back in his retreat several captives: among the rest were the daughters of a powerful prince of the Noutakhaïtsi tribe, named Kalabate. General Strekalov, aid-de-camp of his majesty, the Emperor of Russia, came

in the month of May to the Boughaze, and to Ekathérinodar. The Circassians there complained of their neighbours the Kossacks, but did not speak of their own incursions into the territory of the latter, and feigned to promise their friendship to Russia. In consequence of these interviews, the daughters of Kalabate were restored to their father, with a considerable sum of money as an indemnity.

In the commencement of 1827 the captain of the ship of the line, "Kritski," was commissioned to present to the Pacha of Anapa a snuff-box, enriched with brilliants, a gift from the Emperor of Russia, in return for the services rendered by him to the crew of the vessel which had been shipwrecked in the preceding year: this officer had passed through Boughaze, and was received with distinction by Tchitchène Oglou.

In June, 1827, the Russian government granted 15,000 roubles to the family of Indar Kou, to put an end to the misunderstandings which it was said had arisen between them and the Chapsouke tribe, who beheld with an evil eye the protection enjoyed by Russian commerce under him.

In November of the same year Colonel Pêrovsky, aid-de-camp to His Majesty the Emperor of Russia,

arrived at Ekatherinodar. During his stay on the right bank of the Kouban, he had had means of obtaining important information with regard to the state of the relations between the Russians and the Circassians.

I have been assured, that in February, 1828, Prince Taou Soultane Beizrouk, of the tribe of Demirghoï, and Prince Djane-Ghereï Aslane Ghereiev, of the tribe Khatoukaï, came to Ekatherinodar, and declared that Tchitchène Oglou-Assane Pacha, whose hostile designs against Russia had been long remarked by them, had just addressed himself to them as to the most ancient proprietors of the high Kouban, to persuade them to keep themselves in readiness to attack the Russians at the first signal, in conjunction with the other Circassians. He had made them considerable presents, and one of his officers had gone to them with the deputies of all the tribes, in order to persuade them to this step. These two princes expressed their wish to be placed in a situation which would enable them to refuse their alliance to the Pacha; but soon afterwards, to avoid being exposed to the resentment of the other tribes, they were forced to take up arms and go to fight the Russians on the plain of Anapa.

In the month of March, Tchitchène Oglou left Anapa for Trebisond, leaving in his place Osman, a two-tailed Pacha.

On the 14th of April Russia declared war against the Porte, and shortly after a squadron of eight ships of the line, four frigates, and twenty-one corvettes, transports, and other ships, commanded by Vice-Admiral Greigh in person, sailed from Sevastopol to attack Anapa. They had on board two regiments of chasseurs, amounting to about 2200 men, and a company of artillery under the command of Prince Menstchikov. Colonel Perovsky, who was appointed the first in command in the General's staff, received at the same time orders to join him under the walls of Anapa, by traversing the Boughaze, and occupying the neck of land of Djimaité: for this purpose he had 3000 men under his command, infantry, artillery, Kossacks, and eighty Tchernomortsi Circassians, commanded by Sultan Selim Gherei. He was not to march until he should perceive the squadron on the horizon; but having remarked that the enemy watched his movements, he feared, with reason, that they might come in great numbers and obstruct his passage. To avoid this he determined to send some Kossacks to occupy the neck of sand. They succes-

sively seized two Noutakhaïtsi, one of whom was the nephew of Prince Navrouzokou.

On the 29th Colonel Perovsky sent the Ataman Bézkrovnoï, at the head of 500 horsemen, a company of infantry, and five guns, to occupy Djimaité. All the inhabitants of this village had retreated to the mountains, having previously set fire to their houses.

The squadron at length appeared on the 2nd of May, and anchored the same day at Anapa. The bad weather, which during three days prevented any vessel from approaching the coast, placed Colonel Perovsky in the greatest danger, for several thousand of the Noutakhaïtsi cavalry attacked him on his arrival in the plain of Anapa, and their number was afterwards considerably augmented by Circassians belonging to other tribes. It is fortunate that the garrison of the place, amounting to 7000 Turks, did not unite their efforts to theirs at that period, by making a sortie. What had been said for several years past of the attachment of the Noutakhaïtsi for Russia might have led to the hope that at least they would have consented to have preserved a neutrality, and it was consequently useless to employ a great number of troops in the siege of Anapa.

On the 5th, the sea being then calm, Prince Menstchikov was enabled to effect his disembarkation.

On the 6th the squadron cannonaded Anapa from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M.; the troops had to sustain some vigorous attacks on the part of the Circassians, supported by some hundreds of Turks.

Some cruisers detached from the squadron seized upon four Turkish vessels on their way from Trebisond to Anapa, with 940 officers and soldiers; some days before the arrival of the squadron 2000 had been brought thither.

On the 8th the trench was opened.

Amongst the Circassians who came to harass the besiegers, it is said that Noghaï and Navrous were remarked, as well as many other Chipakoua, who during the last eleven years had repeatedly received proofs of the benevolence of the Russian government. We are likewise told that the Commissioners Tausch and Lhuillier were soon forced to abandon Pchiate, and to take refuge amongst some friends living in a province removed from the seat of the war. An interpreter despatched from the Cordon of Novogrégorivsk to Navrouz was killed by Prince Kalabaté and Tchirik. It was thought that thenceforth the

attacks of the Circassians were bolder and better arranged.

M. Scassi appeared for some days at the camp before Anapa, where he arrived on the 3rd (15th) of May; he went also in a ship of war to Pchiate, and had a meeting there with Indar Kou. No advantageous result ensued, and this functionary returned to the Crimea.

In spite of the difficulties which were to be encountered the labours of the siege advanced rapidly. A bridge, 260 feet long, was constructed, which secured the communications between the two shores of the Boughaze; and in order to avoid extending the line of his troops, Prince Menstchikov cut off the communications of the place with the Circassians, by means of a moveable column. This operation forced the Pacha to make a vigorous sortie on the 23rd of May, o. s., at the head of 1000 men and five pieces of artillery. It was repulsed, and he lost a gun, taken by the young Count Tolstoi, at the head of some Tchernomortsi Circassians.

Anapa was pressed still closer, and everything seemed to announce pacific dispositions on the part of the Circassians of the neighbourhood, when, on the

28th of May (9th of June), at break of day, crowds of these mountaineers immediately covered the heights which commanded the town, and fell upon the out-posts: on the other hand, the garrison took advantage of this unexpected attack to make a sortie. The loss of the Russians was at first considerable: 175 grenadiers of the brave 13th and 14th Chasseurs were the most regretted, but Prince Menstchikov soon avenged them. The Turks were in part cut off from the town and repulsed by the bayonet, as far as the sea, where many of them perished. Those who endeavoured to save themselves on the southern side precipitated themselves from the summit of the rocks and expired on the spot. The mountaineers were also put to the route, and were pursued by the Russians for twelve wersts. Noghaï is said to have been present at this combat, and to have been wounded in the arm. The son of Navrouz also lost a leg in it.

After this affair, Prince Menstchikov gave orders to burn all the Circassian houses situated in a line of fifteen wersts from Anapa.

The siege thenceforth made perceptible progress: the works were carried to within 160 yards of the town, and the guns of the bastions, struck by the Rus-

sian artillery, were dismounted. The major part of the troops which had made the last sortie had not been able to return to the town, and had been forced to seek for refuge among the mountains.

Of ten Turkish merchant vessels, which were at anchor before Anapa at the beginning of the siege, three were sunk, and three more seized by armed schooners, under the command of the captain of the frigate "Niemtinov."

The entire success of the affair of the 28th of May had allowed a line of circumvallation, reaching on both sides to the sea, to be firmly established. After some days, the works were carried as far as the glacis, and the 10th (22nd) June, the descent into the ditch being rendered practicable, and three breaches having been opened, the Pacha was, for the last time, summoned to surrender himself a prisoner of war with the garrison. He at first insisted upon the right of retaining arms and baggage, declaring that, if this were not granted, he would defend himself to the last extremity: the negotiations were then broken off; and they were already preparing for the assault, when the deputies of the town returned, and announced that it surrendered at discretion.

On the 10th (23rd) of June, at noon, Anapa was

occupied by the Russian troops, who entered it, preceded by a priest in sacerdotal habits, and holding a cross in his hands. The garrison was reduced by death, and by the flight of great numbers of officers and soldiers to the mountains, to about 4000 men; 85 pieces of cannon, all of brass, and abundance of warlike stores and provisions, fell into the hands of the Russians.

The garrison of Anapa was sent into the Crimea, and only a few hundred married people obtained permission to return to Anatolia: some neutral vessels transported them thither. Sixty-four Tatar-Adalis, and two old women, obtained permission to remain at Anapa.

On the arrival of the Russian troops Osman Pacha had sent the greatest part of his riches into the mountains, which he wished to obtain again, when, being made a prisoner of war, he was forced to leave his fortress and go to the Crimea. The Circassians, always ready to take advantage of any means of procuring property for themselves without trouble, made him the following answer:—

"Not only will we restore you nothing, but we will come and examine the walls of Anapa, in order

to judge of the facility with which you yielded it to the Russians. We owe it to the Sultan, our Lord, who had confided to us, as well as to you, the defence of his fortress, to which we were about to send immense succours."

Other Turks, who had retired to the mountains with their possessions, experienced a much more wretched fate, for nothing was restored to them, and they would not suffer them to depart.

From the taking of Anapa until this day many attempts have been made by the Russians to bring the Circassians on the other side of the Caucasus into subjection: they have had various results, of which I will not speak, having been too distant from the spot, and being too destitute of satisfactory means of obtaining certain information on the subject.

On the 5th of April, 1832, on the proposal of the Minister of Finance, in Russia, the Council of Ministers issued a notice, approved by the Emperor, regarding the permission to form establishments on the north-east side of the Black Sea, and in the Bays of Soudjouk-kalé and Ghélendjik. All the peasants of the crown, citizens and merchants, who should establish themselves there, were to be for twenty-five

years freed from all taxes and duties, and from the obligation of military service, with the exception of that of their own personal defence against the mountaineers.

The Colony of Ghélendjik was established, I think, upon Cape Tlïouvieusse: it can in no respect replace Anapa, business being limited there on account of the bad roads, which lead to it from the interior. But Ghélendjik must be a military position, and as a naval station it is indispensable for the security of the navigators of these shores. Soudjouk-kalé might become a commercial town, which would possess the great advantage over Anapa of having a very good anchorage in all seasons, and which, as I have already said, might alone rival her on this coast in the land carriage with the northern side of the Caucasus and the plains of Kouban, which would be an immense advantage to the colony.

The capture of Anapa has opened a vast field for Russian enterprise in the Caucasus. All rivalry is at an end, and the Circassians ought to accustom themselves to see henceforward Christians alone supplying their wants. But still, how much remains to be done, and how embarrassing is the choice of the

means to be employed in order to succeed in changing the habits of about twelve tribes, who comprise more than 300,000 families entrenched behind their mountains, which neither the civilization nor the arms of any country have ever been able to penetrate.

The tribes of the Caucasus offer many features of resemblance to the different populations which formerly inhabited the coasts of the country at present known under the name of New Russia; and formerly the Tatars scarcely differed at all from the Circassians, amongst whom the young Mourzas went to be educated, and to practise their thefts on the Russians and the Poles. The Greeks, however, formed commercial establishments amongst the Scythians; afterwards the Genoese and the Venetians did the same amongst the Tatars, and succeeded, as well as their predecessors, in ruling over the people, amongst whom they had come timidly to offer the productions of their industry.

Commerce, also, ought to be the most powerful agent of the efforts of the Russians to pacify the Caucasus: the advantage it would offer to the Circassians, if carried on with mildness and few exactions—the attraction of the enjoyments procured by civiliz-

ation, through upright agents imbued with ideas worthy of those of their government, would, I feel sure, effect a speedy and happy change among the inhabitants of the coast, and those of the plains of the Kouban.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

Russian Weights, Measures, and Monies, mentioned in this Work.

One poud, equal to 15 kilograms, or 33½ lbs. avoirdupois weight.

1 fount, or Russian pound, is the 40th part of the poud.

1 tchetverte = 9½ pouds—(100 tchetvertes are equal to about 125 charges de Marseilles, or 196¾ hectolitres).

Vedrò = 13½ Paris pints.

1 werst = 500 sagenes—(4 wersts are equal to 2000 sagenes, or 4400 yards, and a small fraction; about 1 French post league and a small fraction).

1 sagene = 6 feet 6½ inches of France.

1 archine = 26½ French inches.

1 assignation rouble = 100 copeks, or 100 centimes.

1 franc: this value varies with the exchange.

1 silver rouble varies from 3r. 60c. ass. to 3r. 80.

1 copek = 1100th part of a rouble.

Turkish Weights, Measures, and Monies.

1 batmane = 6 okas, or 18 Russian founts.

1 cantar = 44 okas.

1 oka = 1¼ kilograms—3 founts: it is divided into 400 drachmes.

1 kilo of wheat = 22 okas.

1 kilo of salt = 28 to 32 okas.

1 pic = 2 French feet 1 inch.

1 piastre = 70 to 80 copeks in 1818.
„ = 40 copeks in 1823.
„ = 22 copeks in 1833.
1 para = the 40th part of the piastre.

PRICE BY VALUATION IN TURKISH MONEY AND BY EXCHANGE, AS I FOUND IT IN MY TWO VOYAGES TO GHELENDJIK AND PCHIATE, IN 1818.

Salt . . 5 piastres the Turkisk kilo.
1 measure of salt = 1 measure of wheat.
1 do. = 2 do. of rye.
1 do. = 2 do. of barley.
1 do. = 2 do. of maize.
New iron = 1 piastre the oka.
Old do. = 25 to 30 paras do.
Morocco skins = 15 to 18 piastres each.
Middle-sized cast-iron pots, 3 or 4 goat-skins a-piece.
For a painted earthen pot I received 1 cow's hide.
For a common pistol, 3 ox skins.
1 ox, 20 to 25 piastres.
1 goat, 1½ to 2 pounds of salt.
Wax, 4 piastres the oka.
Honey, 1 do.
For 12 okas of lard I was asked two pounds of salt: 60 pieces of juniper-wood cost me 19 pouds of salt.

PRICES ESTABLISHED IN THE KOUBAN BY THE KOSSACKS FOR CERTAIN CIRCASSIAN PRODUCTS.

		In pouds of salt.	In evaluation money, price of salt.	
			Rbls.	Cop.
Wax . .	1 poud for .	60	30	..
Hare skins .	1 piece . .	1	..	50
Butter . .	1 poud . .	16	8	..

		In pouds of salt.	In evaluation money, price of salt. Rbls.	Cop.
Honey in the comb	1 poud for	10	5	..
Wheat	1 tchetverte	8	4	..
Rye	1 „	4	2	..
Oats	1 „	4	2	..
Barley	1 „	4	2	..
Millet	1 „	8	4	..
Tobacco for smoking, very strong	1 poud	12	6	..
Tallow	1 „	12	6	..
Oxen	1 pair	80	40	..
Cow	1 animal	20	10	..
Horse	1* „	50	25	..
Mare	1 „	40	20	..
Cart	1 „	30	15	..
Great canoe	1 „	36	18	..
Small do.	1 „	15	7	50
Sledge drawn by oxen	1 „	5	2	50
Wild apples	1 measure, fount	15	..	20
Wild pears	1 „	10	..	12½
Oak and elm wood	1 large beam, pouds	2	1	..
Ditto	1 small	1	..	50
Ditto	1-2 sagene long	10	5	..
Ditto elm	1-4 „ „	10	5	..
Ditto	1-3 „ „	5	2	50
Hoops for barrels	the 100	4	2	..
Wood for fuel	1 square sagene	6	3	..

* The Circassians do not sell any at this price.

ARTICLES OF EXPORT AT ANAPA IN 1823 AND 1824.

Wheat valued at 4 Turkish piastres the Turkish kilo; one is given for two of salt. It is carried to the shores of Anatolia, where it is sold for 5 or 6 piastres.

Rye valued at 2 piastres the kilo: 2 are given for 1 of salt: it is sold at Anatolia for 2¾ to 3 piastres.

Barley valued at 2 piastres the kilo: 2 are also given for 1 of salt. The Anatolians buy at 2½ and 2¾ piastres.

Oats valued at 1½ piastre the kilo, and 3 are exchanged for 1 of salt. But little is sown, because the Circassians only use it in making a drink.

Ox, Cow, and Buffalo Hides.—Those of oxen weigh, when salted, 20 to 25 okas; the small ones and the cow hides, 12 to 16; buffalo hides, 30 to 45. The latter are valued at 2 ox hides. All these skins are given in exchange or sold for ready money. In the latter manner they come to about one piastre the oka. Some may be procured from the environs of the Kouban and from the Circassian harbours. They are paid at Trebisond at 1¾ to 2 piastres.

Sheep Skins are sold for 40 to 50 paras.

Goat Skins are sold for 60 to 80 paras: on the other parts of the coasts, more to the south, more are to be found, and cheaper than at Anapa.

Hare Skins.—The Turkish merchants who buy them in winter for 15 to 20 paras a piece, resell them to foreigners at 40. They have only sought for them for a very short time past. About 30,000 are now exported to Anapa, but this number will augment, the Turks having found the advantage of selling them to the Franks at Coustantinople. The Armenians from the environs of Taganrog come likewise into the interior to purchase a considerable number of hare skins, which they take particularly in exchange for silver twist: they are resold to the merchants of Taganrog for 1 rouble and 1 r. 3 o.

Wild Boar Skins.—The Armenians who carry on this commerce at Anapa sell them for 7 and 8 piastres; they may be had of the Circassians for 3 and 4 piastres in exchange. This is an article which has always been very well sold at Constantinople for the Archipelago.

For Anatolia:—

Wolf skins from	11 to 12 piastres.
Fox do.	9 „ 12
Jackal do.	1½ „ 2
Wild cats do.	1 „ 1½

For Constantinople:—

Brown Marten Skins,	10 to 12 piastres
Red do.	5 „ 7

Many other skins of less value are found there.

Wax, 6½ to 7 piastres the oka.—This article can only be purchased of the Turks of Anapa for ready money: it goes to Constantinople to be sold to the Franks.

For Constantinople and Asia Minor, where these articles sell very well:—

Honey,	50 to 60 paras the oka
Butter,	40 „ 50
Tallow,	50 „ 60

Slaves of both Sexes.—It is seldom that the men are sold for more than 500 piastres; but the price of some women is as high as several thousands. I will subsequently speak of this interesting article of commerce.

Many of the articles above mentioned are found in the Russian ports at the same price, and often cheaper; but at Anapa there is the advantage of only having very inconsiderable duties to pay: they are fixed, agreeably to our capitulations, at 3 per cent. on the value of the merchandize. At Anapa the oka of wax costs 7 paras, the ox hide 6, the hare skin 2, &c. In Russia wax is overcharged about 17 paras, the dry ox hide about 2 piastres 34 paras, &c.

Articles of Importation at Anapa in 1823 and 1824.

The Turks bring to Anapa to the value of more than two millions of piastres of linen drapery, such as cottons of European manufacture, muslins, cambric, muslin and coloured pocket handkerchiefs, which the Circassians wear on their heads or shoulders; and Turkish manufactures known under the name of *Kadikeui-aladjasi*, *Berder-kirmezi*, *bezi-bouiouk*, *Kutchuk-bezi*, *boghasi*, *kastambol-tsite*, *astar*, *achaa-astar*, *tchivite yechil*, *mavi moussul*, *alep-aladjasi manus-aladjasi tchember yéméni*.

The importation of other articles amounts to about 500,000 piastres: it consists in salt, which was formerly only brought from the Crimea, but for some time past the variation of the duties imposed by Russia on this article has induced some speculators to furnish the market with that of Fokia in the Gulf of Smyrna, and that of Sicily, which the Franks bring to Constantinople. These qualities, however, are not so highly esteemed as those of the Crimea, and especially that of Lake Yelkéne in the environs of Kertche. This salt is brown, and is sold in Anatolia for one quarter more than the white. The ignorance of the Turkish sailor is the cause of Anapa being unprovided with salt in the winter, and even till the months of May and June.

Steel.

Iron in bars.

Nails, soft iron, from 1½ to 5 inches long.

Lead in the lump, and in small shot.

Pistol barrels, 12 or 14 inches long, of a small calibre.

Musket, twisted and rifled.

Round brass plates, small.

Sabre blades.

Morocco skins and sheep skins, black, yellow, Egyptian earth, red, green.—They are carried to Anatolia; those of the Crimea are the more esteemed, and are consequently sold dearer.

Cloths.—Light, and in very small quantities, because it is an article of great luxury, used by very few Circassians, and which is only sold for the use of the Turks.

Needles.
Small mirrors.
Turkish soap.
Coffee.
Dried figs.
Dried raisins.
Carubas.

FROM RUSSIA.

Iron pots.
Hatchets.
Silver thread.
Coloured silks.
Some drugs.

All these articles sell very well at Anapa, but still better in the interior and on the coast. It may suffice to name one, *steel*, which is purchased in the fortress at 2 piastres the oka, and is often resold to the Circassians as high as 5, who often even readily consent to give an oka of wax for 1½ of this metal.

TABLE OF THE COMMERCE AND THE MOVEMENTS IN THE PORT OF ANAPA IN 1833.

1st, IMPORTATION FROM FOREIGN PARTS.

Cotton goods and silks . . .	1097 r.
Articles received in exchange from the Tcherkesses	4722
Total . .	5819 r.

2dly, EXPORTATION TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Undressed skins, 985 pouds . . .	4790 r.
Butter	1705
*Hare skins, iron, leather, tallow and caviare .	1465
Total . .	7960 r.

* Here the articles exported from Anapa, arising from the exchanges made with the Tcherkesses, are confounded with those, such as iron, which come from Russia, and are exported from Anapa by the Tcherkesses.

3dly, MOVEMENT OF THE PORT.

Arrivals from foreign parts	0
Departures—1 Russian vessel; 1 Turkish . .	2

COASTING TRADE.

Arrivals from various Russian ports with cargoes		35
Departures for the same with cargoes, 6; in ballast, 29		35
Importation by the coasting trade . .	7,593 r.	
Exportation	1,426	
Sent to Ghélendjik in a vessel belonging to government	28,619	
	30,405 r.	

VOCABULARY

OF THE DIALECT OF THE CIRCASSIANS-NOU-TAKHAITSIS.

The *kh* must be pronounced like the Greek or Russian *x*; the *gh* like the Greek γ or the Russian *r*.

The *i* represents a б or Russian *ieri*: it must be pronounced soft, like an unaccented *e*.

The *s* between two vowels is not here pronounced like a *z*.

To-day	Népe
Lamb	Mêlai
Let us go	Négoua
Have you?	Chi-ha
Good bye	Otkhache
Friend	Siblaghеu
Sit down	Tize
Wait	Saboure
Enough	Pachu, rokhoueu
Good morning (in the morning)	Ouptché dézo khapchi
At mid-day, and on the road	Mafizou, sapchi
Good evening	Ouptché azo khapchi
Good night	Ouptché essizé okhou
King	Elthline
Stocking	Thlépéte
Cap	Paougho
Ox	Tsu
Beard	Djaghé
Mouth	Jeu

Well - - -	Azir
White - - -	Fégé
Bouza (a Tatar drink) -	Bak-sima
Cloak with a hood, (called in the Tatar language, Bachlik)	Tcharkhoue
Padlock - - -	Outkibzé
Counterpane - -	Tchekhghéne
Breeches - - -	Oughandgandje
Heat - - -	Fabeu
Cock - - -	Atakeu
Pig - - -	K-khoua
Horse - - -	Chi
Cät - - -	Ketou
Dog - - -	Khâ
Nails - - -	Oughoundjoughoune
Hair - - -	Chkhatsi
Salutation - - -	Ghogmaf
How do you do? - -	Ouzapachmé
Wax - - -	Chéfù
God - - -	Tkhâ
To-morrow - -	Nakhoupche
Give me - - -	Sakhe-Séte
Teeth - - -	Tseu
Fingers - - -	Eup-Khouambe
Where do you come from? -	Tédéghagui?
Water - - -	Psi
Lightning - -	Ghouasseu
Narrow, and very narrow -	Zéjou, Zéjouded
Woman - - -	Chasse
Girl, and my daughter -	Psasi, si-psasi
Son - - -	Saou
Fire - - -	Mazoué
Cheese - - -	Khaïe
Flour - - -	Adjigha
Iron - - -	Oughoutche
Geese - - -	Ts-khouénke

Thank God	Tkhâ-ou-psou, used for thank you
Gaiters (kind of)	Etlaï
Lace (gold or silver)	Diche
Man	Tséfeu, Tlé, Tli
High	Inded
Dress	Tsi
He goes	Khake vajà
I am going	Si gholî
I go	Saze vajà
I have	Cheu
I have not	Cheu-êp
I will fire	Si o voke
I will kill you	Si vou ghane
I know	Ts-adjigha
I do not know	Ts-ghourêp
I love	Sedjas
I love very much	Bo-Sedjas
I do not love	Si-tchi êp
Legs	Thla koua
Pretty, and very pretty	Dak hù—Dakhu dêd
Moon	Mazè
Milk	Sézénô
Curdled milk (Yaourte)	S-ch-khou
Him or her	Méri
Tongue	Bzégou
Hare	Tagoumghià
Wolf	Doughousu
Iron file	Tchane
Wooden file	Pkhakho
Morning	Neptchediche
Eat, and come to eat	Ouchekhoune, yeblaghe ouche khoune
Hand	Ea
Marten	Tseuzè
Cloak (Tatar bourka)	Tchaouko

Sea	Kh-chi
Mother	Yani
Honey	Soou
Me	Séri
Mountain	Tkhé
Mustachio	Padjeu
Ship	Kouakheu
Do not come near	Oukhamouke
No	Yahaou
Nose	Peu
Clouds	O-sou-khapchi
Nuts	Dézu
Walnuts	Déche-kho
Bird	Bzéou
Ears	Tagoum
Onions	Bjunù
Eggs	Kiarkia
Where are you going?	Tédéougoua?
Bread	Tchaoukhe
Father	Yati
Fowl	Kéti
Bring or give	Kakhe
Pear	Khouzou
Plum	Skhoupza
Dagger	Kameu
Thumb	Eupkhabache
Door, and shut the door	Ptché—Ptchériaghase
Open the door	Ptché roukheu
Gunpowder	Ghunu
Fox	Bedjasueu
River	Psè
Sabre	Kéateu
Cavalry sabre	Chache-khoua
Blood	Thleu
Sun	Tgha
Evening	Tchazghose

Salt - - -	Choughou
Bosom of a woman -	Pidzé, Buzù
Eyebrows - - -	Napseu
Be welcome - -	O-Sapchi
Shoes - - -	Tchuako
Spacious - - -	Kiakheded
Scythe - - -	Pkhakhò
Carpet - - -	Ouptché
Ground - - -	Tchi
Thunder - - -	Chéblì
Thou - - -	Varié
Cloth - - -	Béze
Wine - - -	Souate
Widow - - -	Pkhouje
Meat - - -	Gl-li

Declaration of Circassian Independence, addressed to the Courts of Europe.

"The inhabitants of the Caucasus, instead of being subject to Russia, are not even at peace with her, but have for many years been engaged in continual war. This war they have maintained single-handed. They have received at no period encouragement or assistance from any Power. While the Porte held the supremacy of these Provinces they were left for their means of defence to themselves, but lately the Porte has in every way betrayed and abandoned them. One Pacha opened the gates of Anapa to Muscovite gold, telling the Circassians that the Russians marched as friends to support the Sultan against the Rebel Chiefs of Arminestan. Another Pacha again betrayed them, and left their country by night. Since then the Circassians have sent repeated deputations to the Sultan, to offer their devotion, to request assistance: they have, however, been treated with coldness. They have also applied to Persia with no better success, and finally to Mehe-

met Ali; who, although appreciating their devotion, was too far off then to support them.

"In all these cases the deputies of Circassia had been instructed to tell to those who, being at a distance, did not know, how intolerable was the oppression of Russia, how hostile she was to the customs, the faith and happiness of all men (or why should the Circassians have fought so long against her?)—how treacherous were her generals, and how savage her soldiers,—that therefore it was the interest of no one that the Circassians should be destroyed. On the contrary, that it was the interest of all the Circassians should be supported. A hundred thousand Muscovite troops occupied now in fighting with us, or in watching and blockading us, will then be fighting with you. A hundred thousand men now scattered over our barren and steep rocks, and struggling with our hardy mountaineers, will then be overrunning your rich plains, and enslaving your Rayas and yourselves. Our mountains have been the ramparts of Persia and Turkey, they will become, unless supported, the gate to both—they are now the only shelter for both. They are the doors of the house, by closing which alone the hearth can be defended. But, moreover, our blood, the Circassian blood, fills the veins of the Sultan. His mother, his harem, is Circassian. His slaves are Circassians. His ministers and his generals are Circassian. He is the chief of our faith, and also of our race; he possesses our hearts, and we offer him our allegiance;—by all these ties we claim from him countenance and support, and if he will not, or cannot defend his children and his subjects, let him think of the Khans of the Crimea, whose descendant is among us.

"Such were the words our deputies were instructed to pronounce, but they were unheeded. They would not have been so, if the Sultan knew how many hearts and swords he can command, when he ceases to be the friend of the Muscovite.

"We know that Russia is not the only power in the world. We know that there are other powers greater than Russia, who, though powerful, are benevolent, who instruct the igno-

rant, who protect the weak, who are not friends to the Russians, but rather their enemies, and who are not enemies of the Sultan, but his friends. We know that England and France are the first among the nations of the globe, and were great and powerful when the Russians came in little boats, and got from us permission to catch fish in the sea of Azof.

"We thought that England and France would take no interest in a simple and poor people like us; but we did not doubt that such wise nations knew that we were not Russians, and though we know little, and have no artillery, generals, discipline, ships, or riches—that we are an honest people, and peaceable when let alone, but that we hate the Russians with good cause, and almost always beat them. It is, therefore, with the profoundest humiliation that we have learnt that our country is marked, on all the maps printed in Europe, as a portion of Russia; that treaties, of which we know nothing, should have been signed between Russia and Turkey, pretending to hand over to the Russians these warriors that make Russia tremble, and these mountains where her footsteps have never come; that Russia tells in the West that the Circassians are her slaves, or wild bandits and savages, whom no kindness can soften, and no laws can restrain.

"We most solemnly protest in the face of heaven against such womanish arts and falsehood. We answer words with words, but it is truth against falsehood: for forty years we have protested triumphantly against accusations with our arms: this ink, as the blood we have spilt, declares our independence; and these are the seals of men who have known no superior save the decision of their country—men who understand no subtle arguments—but who know how to use their weapons when the Russians come within their reach.

"Who has power to give us away? Our allegiance is offered to the Sultan, but if he is at peace with Russia he cannot accept it, for Circassia is at war. Our allegiance is a free offering; he cannot sell it, because he has not bought it.

"Let not a great nation, like England, to whom our eyes

are turned, and our hands are raised, think of us at all if it be to do us injustice. Let her not open her ear to the wiles of the Russian, while she closes it to the prayer of the Circassian. Let her judge by facts between the people that is called savage and barbarous, and its calumniator.

"We are Four Millions, but we have unfortunately been divided into many tribes, languages, and creeds; we have various customs, traditions, interests, alliances, and feuds. We have hitherto never had one purpose; but we have modes of government, and habits of submission and command. The chief chosen by each body during war is implicitly obeyed, and our princes and our elders govern according to the custom of each place with greater authority than in the great states around us; but from our wanting a common chief amongst ourselves, we who have ruled throughout the East have chosen always a foreign leader. We have thus voluntarily submitted to the dominion of the Khans of the Crimea, and afterwards to the Sultans of Constantinople.

"Russia has attempted, whenever she had overpowered any portion of our territory, and in some she has succeeded, to reduce us to the condition of serfs, to enrol us in her armies, to make us spend our sweat and our blood to enrich her; to fight her battles, and to enslave to her others, even our own countrymen and co-religionaries. Hatred has, therefore, grown up between us, and bloodshed is unceasing, otherwise we might long ago have submitted to a Muscovite chief.

"It would be a long and sad story to relate the acts of her cruelty, her faith violated, her promises broken; how she has encircled our country on every side; cut us off from the necessaries of life; how she has intercepted our commerce; how she has caused to fall under the knife of the hired assassin the last remnants of our ancient houses, and left us without chiefs to obey; how she has exterminated whole tribes and villages; how she has bought the treacherous agents of the Porte; how she has reduced us to poverty, and driven us into hatred and exasperation against all the world, by the horrors

she committed—while by her falsehoods she degraded us in the eyes of the Christian nations of Europe.

"We have lost the stocks that formerly could have collected hundreds of thousands of men under their banners; but we are now at last united all as one man in hatred to Russia—200,000 alone of our people have been subjected by her during this long contest; of the remainder, not one has voluntarily served Russia. Many children have been stolen, and sons of nobles taken as hostages; but such as could recollect a country have made their escape. We have amongst us men who have been favoured, and flattered, and honoured by the Emperor, and who have preferred to that favour the dangers of their country. We have amongst us thousands of Russians, who prefer our barbarism to the civilization of their country. Russia has built forts on points of our territory, but they dare not venture beyond the reach of their guns—50,000 Russians have lately made an inroad, and they have been beaten.

"It is by arms, not by words, that a country can be conquered. If Russia conquers us, it will not be by arms, but by cutting off our communications, and making use of Turkey and Persia as if they were already hers; by rendering the sea impassable, as if it were her own; by blockading our coast; by destroying not only our vessels, but those of other states which approach us; by depriving us of a market for our produce; by preventing us from obtaining salt, gunpowder, and other necessaries of war, which to us are necessaries of life; by depriving us of hope.

"But we are independent—we are at war—we are victors. The representative of the Emperor, who numbers us in Europe as his slaves, who marks this country as his on the map, has lately opened communications with the Circassians—not to offer pardon for rebellion, but to bargain for the retreat of 20,000 men enveloped by our people, and to make arrangements for exchange of prisoners."—From '*The Portfolio*,' vol. i, p. 187.

"London, the 21st of Rebiul-Akir, 1251 (1835).

"I have not as yet formally answered the various communications which I have received at different times, either by letters or by deputations, from the various provinces. I did not wish to do so until I had some good news to communicate to you—until I could tell you something which, by proving my will and power to render you service, might justify the confidence you had placed in me.

"Yet I dread that my long absence and my silence, if prolonged, may arrest in your minds those new feelings, and that thirst for information which, I trust, ere long, will make you a people and a nation esteeming yourselves and respected by others. You have long heard of England; you have lately thought much of England; now you receive a letter from England; let it be distributed among the provinces—let the Beys, the Moollahs, and the Elders assemble the people, and read and explain it to them; and thus will you have the satisfaction of reading together the same words from the Black Sea to the Caspian, and hearing yourselves addressed by one common name—Circassians.

"I have already repeatedly warned you against being led into the error of supposing that England will afford you practical succour. England is not at war with Russia, and therefore cannot support any warlike operations against Russia. When I landed in your country, and saw with my own eyes that you were independent of Russia, I saw also that all Russia had said respecting you was false, and I felt indignant against the conduct which she pursued with regard to you, and the falsehoods she used with regard to us.

"But, if Russia used falsehoods with regard to England, it was a proof that she dreaded the truth, and that, therefore, to undeceive England with respect to your real position would be to bring upon Russia those consequences which she dreaded, and to you the advantages she had deprived you of through false representations.

"But, as I said before, England is not at war with Russia, and therefore cannot afford you any assistance such as you at present look to and understand. I must therefore explain to you what I mean by the support you may expect from England. To this I beg your particular attention, for groundless expectation is not less dangerous than unfounded alarm and apprehension.

"When England knows that you are not subject to Russia, and when she understands that Russia sends armies against you, she will say to the Emperor of Russia—'Who are you, to make war and peace without the knowledge and consent of the great Powers of Europe?' And that question will wither the strength of Russia. And when England knows that Russia is making war upon you, being in fact independent, and not molesting her, England will say to herself, 'Why is it that Russia expends so much blood and treasure? It cannot be only to gain Circassia; it must be that she wishes to subdue the countries beyond the Caucasus—that is, Persia and Turkey. We must not let her get Circassia.'

"It is true that the Emperor of Russia has vast territories; but you know that he has not many yards of Circassia. He has, it is true, numerous troops; but can you number the bones of his soldiers that are scattered round your mountains? Yet he tells all Europe that Circassia is his; and he tells you that Europe is his; he therefore boasts and lies. But the brave man does not boast, and the strong man need not lie. He has millions of subjects, but has he not millions of enemies? Every frontier, is it not covered with foes? and these, what are they, compared to those within?

"On the other hand, you know that England rules the seas; that she can, when she chooses, lay Sevastopol in dust and ashes in three hours, and not leave a Russian flag in the Black Sea in a week. Do you think, then, that the Emperor of Russia would venture to do that which England has resolved he should not do? Ponder on these things, and then you will understand why Russia represents you falsely; how much she

has gained by having succeeded in her falsehoods; how much she will lose, and consequently you will gain, when England comes to know the truth. It may happen that that truth is never known to its full extent. It may happen that England never will say to Russia, 'You must cease to make war with the Circassians;' but this is certain, that from the moment your name is pronounced in Europe—nay, from the moment that an Englishman landed on your shores and learned the grand secret of Russia, dread of what might happen entered the secret council-chambers of Russia, and this event has paralysed her efforts, even more perhaps than it has strengthened your hands, by awakening your hopes, and uniting your hearts.

"But these expectations can never be realised until you yourselves make known by some public act the fact which has hitherto been concealed from the whole world—namely, your independence, and until you have some general government to regulate your affairs at home, and to connect your resources as your interests are already united, and until you present yourselves to Europe in an attitude worthy of your heroic deeds, and so as to enable your well-wishers to avow themselves your friends.

"While, therefore, the just appreciation by England of your real state opens to you a prospect beneficial, even while remote, of the restraint which her power will impose upon your adversary, it opens to you the means of hastening that event, by the elevation of your ideas, and by the introduction of that union, the absence of which, more than Russians, has been your enemy. These expectations, I am proud to say, have already been realised; at least to such an extent as to prove to yourselves what you may become. You now do feel you are not distinct tribes, but that you have a country, and that you begin to appreciate that in which you have been deficient, which is the first step, and principal step, towards its acquisition.

"But these, great and important results as they are, are still not the only consequences which are to be expected from

a knowledge of your state in Europe, and from its interest in your destinies. The Polish nation, for the moment subjugated, but whose national existence is guaranteed by the public acts of Europe, will instantly feel their destinies to be irrevocably linked to yours. Twenty thousand Poles in the Russian armies opposed to you will learn that their weapons were turned against their brothers. The Ottoman empire, which has undervalued and betrayed you, will learn from Europe that you have been, and are its defenders; and thus, while looking to England, have, for the first time, the eyes of Lesgians, Kabardians, Tchentches, Ossetinians, Tcherkesses, and Abazeks been turned to the same point. There, in that same point, have they met the eyes of the Poles, the Turks, the Persians, and of all those who suffer from the injustice, or dread the aggressions of the common enemy. And thus, too, will you place at the disposal of England a power through which England, by a single word, can deprive Russia for ever of the power of injuring any one.

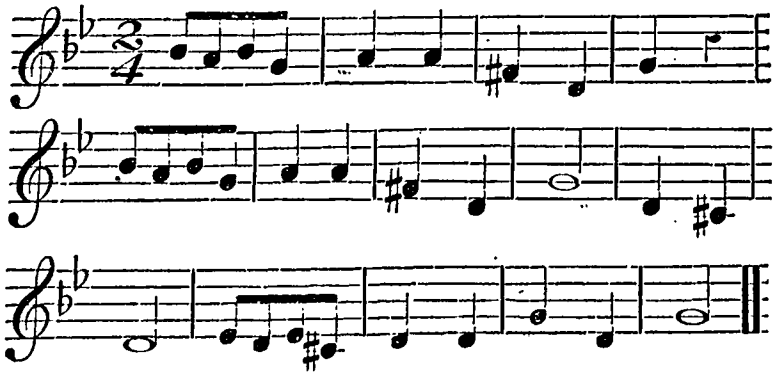
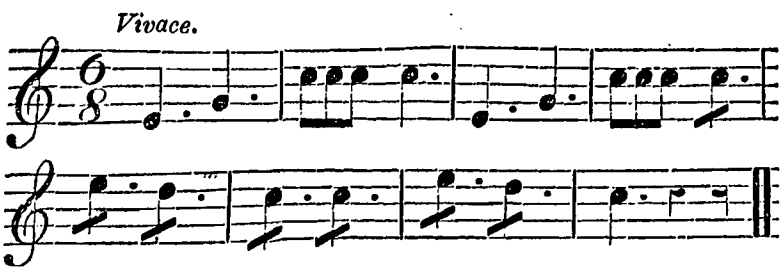
" ' But when shall our name become known in England, and the brightness of her eyes be turned upon us?' Be assured that will happen, and many months will not have passed away before the shadow of England's power will have cast itself on the breast of your protecting seas; and when England turns her face to the East, shall her eyes not fall on Elbrooz? When England is aroused by the march of Russian violence and injustice, will she not find sympathy in her bosom for Circassia? When her alarms are awakened for sinking Turkey and Persia, will she not greet the garrison of the Caucasus?

" Then, when her eyes are so turned, her indignation aroused, and her sympathy awakened, and only then, must she be made aware of the error respecting your past state, and informed of the new stage of national existence on which you have entered. Then, when the new name of Circassia is pronounced—when the old independence of the Caucasus is proclaimed—will Circassia be hailed as a new star which has arisen in the East.

"I need not tell you to fight bravely, but I would beg of you to think more. The thoughts now spreading from village to village, and from province to province, are carrying with them and scattering seed which may one day ripen, not merely into national independence, but into national prosperity, greatness, and renown.

"DAOUD."

CIRCASSIAN AIRS.

War Song.

War Song.

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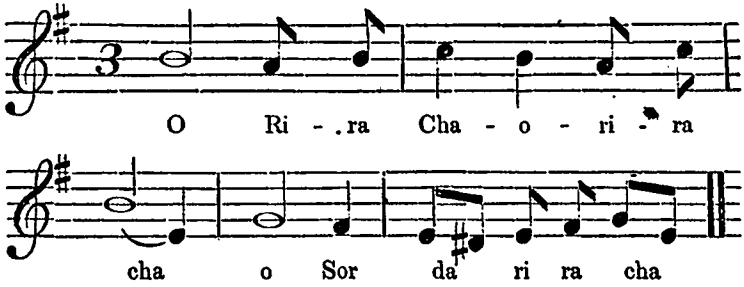
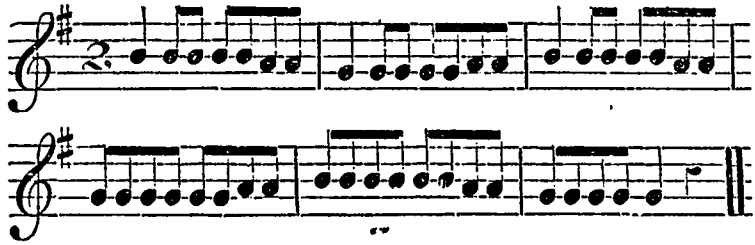
Refrain.

Andante.

Dance.

Vivace.

THE END.

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